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**CLASS, GENDER AND CHRISTIANITY IN EDINBURGH**  
**1850-1905: A STUDY IN DENOMINATIONALISM**  
**CHRISTINA CHRISTIE LUMSDEN**

**Ph D University of Edinburgh 2012**

## **Declaration**

I composed this thesis. The work is my own. Except for the section relating to Bristo Place Baptist Church, no part of this thesis has been submitted for in part for any other degree or qualification. Permission was granted for me to include material from my Open University MA dissertation, 'Class and Religion in Edinburgh 1875-1905: A Demographic Study of Bristo Place Baptist Church'.

Name: Christina C Lumsden-----

Date: 4 April 2012

## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the relationship between denominational affiliation, class and gender in the city of Edinburgh between 1850 and 1905. The period was chosen because socially it was a time of transition from a semi-rural economy to one of rapid population growth, urbanisation and economic diversification. Account has also been taken of the political context, as ministers and elders, especially from dissenting congregations, played a leading role in the movements for social and political reform, both locally and nationally.

In ecclesiastical terms, the Established Church of Scotland was recovering from the effects of the Disruption of 1843, which had broken up the unity of the Church and led to intense inter-denominational strife. Towards the end of the period, the first steps leading to Presbyterian reunion were under way, culminating in the union of the United Presbyterian and Free Churches in 1900. This was also a time of religious revivals, first from 1858-60, then with Moody and Sankey, especially their first campaign in 1873-74. The so-called 'Welsh' revival of 1905 also impacted on some Edinburgh churches. The thesis also brings out the close links between these revival movements and social welfare concern among church members.

Although Presbyterianism was the dominant form of church government in Scotland, other denominations also played their part in the religious life of the city. In the social analysis of congregations, special attention is given to a comparison of contrasting pairs of churches. St. Stephen's Church of Scotland in the northern New Town is compared with Free St. George's at the West End. Two Congregational churches, Augustine and Brighton Street, while near neighbours, had a different

ethos, with the latter being more aggressively evangelical. Finally, two Baptist churches are examined. Bristo Place, the original Scotch Baptist church, had a plurality of elders or lay pastors, while Charlotte Chapel was founded on 'English' lines with one full-time minister. The memberships of these six churches are analysed to ascertain whether particular denominations appealed to different social groups.

An important part of my thesis is the position of the poor, who have often been regarded as lacking interest in religion. I will show that, contrary to this perception, many indeed were Christian but preferred to worship in their own environment, attending mission halls rather than the fashionable city churches. These missions were usually operated as evangelical outreach from large charges, with some later becoming independent from the mother church, and calling their own minister. However, they remained firmly based in their own localities. In this way class divisions, which were such a hallmark of Edinburgh, were preserved. Two missions operated on a non-denominational basis, drawing practical and financial support from many different churches. Carrubber's Close Mission in the High Street worked in the poorest district, while the Edinburgh City Mission operated across the city. These missions were examples of Christianity in action as they sought to improve the social and moral conditions of the poor.

## **CONTENTS**

<b>Introduction</b>	1-31
<b>Chapter 1 Physical Structure, People, Politics</b>	32-78
<b>Introduction</b>	32
<b>1.1 Physical Development</b>	32-43
<b>1.2 People</b>	43-44
<b>1.3 Politics</b>	44-71
<b>1.3.1 Adam Black</b>	48-55
<b>1.3.2 The Annuity Tax</b>	55-57
<b>1.3.3 Duncan McLaren</b>	58-62
<b>1.3.4 Gladstone's Midlothian Campaigns</b>	62-71
<b>1.4 Contrasting Cultures</b>	71-77
<b>Conclusion</b>	77-78
 <b>Chapter 2 Schism and Denominationalism</b>	 79-141
<b>Introduction</b>	79-80
<b>2.1 Patronage and a Church Divided</b>	80-88
<b>2.1.1 The Moderate Party</b>	84-85
<b>2.1.2 William Robertson</b>	85-87
<b>2.1.3 The Evangelical or Popular Party</b>	87-88
<b>2.2 Early Secessions from the Church of Scotland</b>	88-96
<b>2.2.1 Relief Church</b>	90-94
<b>2.2.2 Reformed Presbyterian Church</b>	94-96
<b>2.3 The Great Disruption</b>	96-101
<b>2.4 Reunion?</b>	101-121
<b>2.4.1 Disestablishment</b>	107-113
<b>2.4.2 Free Church/United Presbyterian</b>	
<b>Reunion</b>	113-119

<b>2.4.3 Postlude</b>	119-121	
<b>2.5 Episcopalians</b>	121-126	
<b>2.6 Roman Catholicism</b>	126-127	
<b>2.7 Independent Churches</b>	127-135	
<b>2.7.1 Congregationalists</b>	127-128	
<b>2.7.2 Baptists</b>	128-130	
<b>2.7.3 Evangelical Union</b>	130-132	
<b>2.7.4 Smaller Groups</b>	132-135	
<b>2.8 Other Religions</b>	135-137	
<b>Conclusion</b>	138-141	
 <b>Chapter 3 Times of Revival</b>		142-195
<b>Introduction</b>	142	
<b>3.1 Definitions of Revival</b>	142-144	
<b>3.2 Early Influences</b>	144-148	
<b>3.3 Beginnings</b>	148-150	
<b>3.4 Edinburgh 1858-1860</b>	150-151	
<b>3.5 Examples of Revival</b>	151-159	
<b>3.5.1 Carrubbers' Close Mission</b>	151-156	
<b>3.5.2 Brighton Street E.U. Church</b>	157-159	
<b>3.6 Results of Revival</b>	159-160	
<b>3.7 Moody and Sankey</b>	161-184	
<b>3.7.1 A New Kind of Worship</b>	170-175	
<b>3.7.2 Opposition</b>	175-178	
<b>3.7.3 Henry Drummond</b>	178-184	
<b>3.8 Two More Americans</b>	184-185	
<b>3.9 The 'Welsh Revival' in Edinburgh</b>	186-193	
<b>Conclusion</b>	193-195	

## **Chapter 4 Social Concerns and the Churches**

196-222

<b>Introduction</b>	196-198
<b>4.1 Education</b>	198-213
<b>4.1.1 Edinburgh Academy</b>	199-200
<b>4.1.2 Thomas Guthrie and the Ragged School Movement</b>	200-205
<b>4.1.3 Parish and Denominational Schools</b>	205-208
<b>4.1.4 Towards a National Educational System</b>	208-213
<b>4.2 Housing</b>	214-219
<b>4.3 Moral Welfare</b>	219-222
<b>Conclusion</b>	222

## **Chapter 5 Pastors and People**

223-307

<b>Introduction</b>	223
<b>5.1 Social Class and Census Returns</b>	223-224
<b>5.2 Census of Religious Worship</b>	224-231
<b>5.3 Problems with Sources</b>	231-233
<b>5.4 Occupational Analysis</b>	233-235
<b>5.5 St. Stephen's Church of Scotland</b>	235-241
<b>5.6 Free St. George's</b>	241-254
<b>5.7 Argyle Square Chapel/Augustine Congregational Church</b>	254-274
<b>5.8 Brighton Street Evangelical Union Congregational Church</b>	274-285
<b>5.9 Bristo Place Scotch Baptist Church</b>	285-294
<b>5.10 Charlotte Baptist Chapel</b>	295-300
<b>Conclusion</b>	300-307



<b>Chapter 6 Church Discipline</b>	308-341
<b>Introduction</b>	308 -311
<b>6.1 Offences</b>	311-317
<b>6.2 St. Stephen's</b>	317-319
<b>6.3 Free St. George's</b>	320-326
<b>6.4 Argyle Square/Augustine</b>	
<b>Congregational</b>	327- 333
<b>6.5 Charlotte Baptist Chapel</b>	334-339
<b>Conclusion</b>	339-341
 <b>Chapter 7 Reaching the Unchurched</b>	 342-390
<b>Introduction</b>	342-343
<b>7.1 Social Conditions</b>	343-345
<b>7.2 Church Office-bearers</b>	345- 346
<b>7.3 Pew Renting</b>	346-350
<b>7.4 Edinburgh City Mission</b>	350-368
<b>7.4.1 Management of the Mission</b>	350-358
<b>7.4.2 Specialist Ministries</b>	358-362
<b>7.4.3 A City Missionary at Work</b>	362-368
<b>7.5 Individual Church Missions</b>	368-382
<b>7.5.1 Free St. George's</b>	368-373
<b>7.5.2 Canongate Mission</b>	374-382
<b>7.6 Carrubbers' Close Mission</b>	382-387
<b>7.7 Success or Failure?</b>	387-390
 <b>Chapter 8 Conclusion</b>	 391-401
<b>8.1 Social and Political Change</b>	391-394
<b>8.2 Class</b>	394-396

### **8.3 Gender**

396-401

### **Bibliography**

402-429

## **APPENDICES**

<b>Appendix 1 St. Stephen's Communion Roll 1867-1873</b>	1-27
<b>Appendix 2 Free St. George's New Communicants 1874-1905</b>	28-76
<b>Appendix 3a Argyle Square Minute Book 1853-1878</b>	77-137
<b>Appendix 3b Augustine Congregational Minute Book 1878-1905</b>	138-182
<b>Appendix 4 Brighton Street Evangelical Union</b>	
<b>Roll of Members 1884-1889</b>	183-208
<b>Appendix 5 Bristo Place Scotch Baptist Church Members</b>	
<b>1875-1905</b>	209-228
<b>Appendix 6 Charlotte Baptist Chapel Membership Roll 1908</b>	229-249



## INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the relationship between church affiliation, class and gender with particular reference to the growth of denominationalism in Edinburgh between 1850 and 1905. Religious affiliation is set in the context of social and political change as it affected Edinburgh. As well as considering the role of the leaders in a number of particular congregations, I include something of the experiences of the ordinary church member, who has often been overlooked. In this way I present a more balanced picture of these congregations.

In secular terms, this was a time of transition, as Edinburgh became more urbanised, with the growth of her population, although the increase was less rapid than that of Glasgow or Dundee, which were more heavily industrialised. The impact of these changes on individual churches will be considered in the analysis of members. The respective roles allocated to men and women will also be examined to discover how this changed over time and the factors which contributed to this change.

Post-Reformation Scottish church history has tended to focus on Presbyterianism, the dominant form of ecclesiastical government, especially the various divisions affecting the Established Church during the eighteenth century and beyond, culminating in the Disruption of 1843. The emphasis has been on the politics of these movements and the role of the church leaders. Some leaders, such as Robert Rainy of the Free Church, were the subjects of biographies published soon after their deaths. These were often of a high quality, rich in primary source material and written by family members or close associates. Because they presented extensive

extracts from correspondence, diaries, and newspaper reports, these books are considered below as primary sources.

Throughout my period, Edinburgh was profoundly influenced by the social vision of Thomas Chalmers, who lived in the city from 1828 to 1847, and was one of the most important figures in Scottish church history. My treatment of the legacy of Chalmers in Edinburgh has been shaped by two major biographical studies. The earlier, *Thomas Chalmers: A Biographical Study*, by James Dodds, was first published in 1870.<sup>1</sup> Dodds' aim was 'to excite an interest amongst the young especially, in the public events of what may be called *their own times*'.<sup>2</sup> He concentrates on the subjects to which Chalmers devoted his life, namely

the cure of pauperism, the reclamation of the city masses, the effective organization (*sic*) of Churches if they are to be dissevered from connection with the State.<sup>3</sup>

As will be seen from my thesis, these subjects were still relevant at the time Dodds wrote the book, but it would have been difficult reading for the young for whom it was intended. Although Dodds quotes from a number of sources, these are not referenced, a distinct drawback to the modern academic. The reprint of 1995, however, has an introductory essay by David Gladstone which contains useful background material and summarises subsequent scholarship, including an extensive list of bibliographical references.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> James Dodds, *Thomas Chalmers: A Biographical Study* (Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Co. 1870; repr. Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1995)

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* Preface v-vii (p.v) Italics as in original.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p.vi

<sup>4</sup> David Gladstone, 'Thomas Chalmers on Poverty, Pauperism and Political Economy' in Dodds, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. v-xcvi

Although published in 1982, Stewart J. Brown's *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* remains the standard modern biography.<sup>5</sup> The unifying theme of this book is Chalmers' vision of a 'godly commonwealth', whereby the nation would be organised

into small parish communities, covenanted in the service of God, and for the private interests to the communal welfare.<sup>6</sup>

By the 1830s, however, the state was beginning to take over responsibility for social welfare, which hitherto had been the responsibility of the churches. At the same time, the divisions within the Church of Scotland over patronage and government interference in its affairs led ultimately to the Disruption of 1843 which,

Chalmers maintained, was not a secession [but] a tragic severing of the relationship between the true Church of Scotland and a British State which had broken its pledge to preserve the Church's integrity.<sup>7</sup>

Brown's analysis of these events, which led to the failure of Chalmers' dream of a 'godly commonwealth', is masterly and provided an excellent introduction to the subject of ecclesiastical divisions. These will be discussed in Chapter 2.

## **Period of thesis**

The period 1850-1905 has been chosen because during this time the British Empire was approaching its peak and Scots played a significant part in its development, both in political and religious terms. As will be seen in Chapter 5, one Edinburgh church, Free St. George's, had within its membership men who had

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<sup>5</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982)

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* p.287

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* p.337

worked in India at a senior level in the Bengal Civil Service and for the Honourable East India Company, which, under its Presidencies, governed large swathes of India, regarded as the crown jewel of the Empire. Augustine Congregational Church was the church of choice for staff and students of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, founded in 1841 to train Christian doctors for work overseas. (The work of the Society will be described in Chapter 4.)

Scottish missionaries were in the forefront, spreading Christianity to all nations, not only preaching the gospel but bringing with them their expertise in education and medicine. David Livingstone, now best remembered for his exploration of Africa, became a national hero. Missionary biographies, often given as school or Sunday School prizes, were best sellers. Many congregations actively supported missionary societies, such as the London Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society. As we shall see in Chapter 7, the churches often modelled the outreach among the poor of their localities on such overseas work. The extent of Scottish support for missions is reflected the choice of the (then) United Free Church Assembly Hall in Edinburgh as the venue for the World Missionary Conference of 1910. In June 1907 the first meeting of the general committee to plan the conference took place there. The English societies were mostly represented by their Scottish agents rather than senior staff from London.<sup>8</sup>

From around 1850, the Presbyterian churches were gradually reunited, reversing the schisms of the earlier period, although with a few dissenting voices remaining outwith these unions. Non-Presbyterian denominations also developed from their

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<sup>8</sup> Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Michigan, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), p.22

eighteenth-century beginnings, giving a greater diversity in practice and belief. Faith then became a matter of personal choice, rather than being imposed by the state. This led to pressure from the 1870s for the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, which influenced Gladstone's final election campaigns in Midlothian. The second half of the nineteenth century was a period when religion and politics were intertwined at both local and national level, as leading churchmen served on local councils and as Members of Parliament, particularly after the electoral reforms of 1832 and 1834 for national and local government respectively. The careers of two Edinburgh business men, Adam Black and Duncan McLaren, both dissenters from the Established Church, will be considered as examples of this new style of politician.

Outside the churches, Christian faith was challenged by scientific discoveries which questioned the literal interpretation of Scripture. Within the universities, especially in Germany, the school of 'higher criticism' of the Biblical texts also raised doubts about their authenticity. A period of study at German universities was common among Scottish theological students, so these new ideas were disseminated in the divinity schools of Scotland. Over several years this teaching led to charges of heresy against some ministers, culminating in the appearance of George Adam Smith before the General Assembly of the recently formed United Free Church in 1902. With the support of Principal Rainy of New College, the charges against Smith were dropped.<sup>9</sup> As we shall see in Chapter 3, Rainy had encouraged his students to assist with the Moody and Sankey campaign of 1873-74 and took part in the meetings

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<sup>9</sup> Smith's case will be discussed in Chapter 5 pp. 249-251



himself. He therefore retained his evangelical faith, while coming to accept the more scientific approach to the Bible.

## **Secularisation**

Underpinning the discussion of class and gender in religious observance is the significant long-standing debate among historians and sociologists regarding secularisation, particularly when the decline in religious observance took place and its causes. Steve Bruce, a leading sociologist of religion, has defined secularisation as

- (a) a decline in the economic, social and political influence of the Protestant Churches;
- (b) a decline in the popularity of Christian beliefs;
- (c) a decline in the proportion of the population who take any active part in the activities of Protestant churches.<sup>10</sup>

Bryan Wilson, another sociologist, who was among the earliest to do so, defined secularisation, more succinctly, as ‘the process by which religious thinking, practice and institutions lose social significance’.<sup>11</sup>

Robin Gill, a theologian, in *The Myth of the Empty Church*, criticises the theory that the process began in the nineteenth century with a crisis of religious belief caused by developments in science and rational thought, but that the decline in church going was not noticeable until the twentieth century, particularly after the

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<sup>10</sup> Steve Bruce, *A House Divided: Protestantism, Schism and Secularisation* (London: Routledge, 1990), p.7

<sup>11</sup> B.R. Wilson, *Religion in a Secular Society: A Sociological Comment* (London: Harmondsworth Penguin, 1969), p. 14

disillusionment of the First World War.<sup>12</sup> Once this ‘key myth is contested’, the question of empty churches becomes ‘intellectually problematic’.<sup>13</sup>

Both sides of the argument were brought together in *Religion and Modernisation: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularization Thesis*, edited by Steve Bruce.<sup>14</sup> Of the eight contributors only two were historians and one a theologian. The others were sociologists so the debate was hardly even-handed. For the sociologist, the problem lies in defining religion; functional definitions ‘identify religion in terms of what it does’, while substantive definitions ‘identify religion in terms of what it is’.<sup>15</sup>

Alan D. Gilbert has used the term ‘religion’ to describe

*any system of values, beliefs, norms, and related symbols and rituals, arising from attempts by individuals and social groups to effect certain ends, whether in this world or in any future world, by means wholly or partly supernatural.*<sup>16</sup>

He sets out four phases of the growth and decline of religious organisations: a progressive phase of rapid expansion, a marginal phase in which their position is maintained by retaining members but society’s response to them stabilises or declines, a recessive phase in which decline begins as they are unable to recruit outsiders or to retain members’ children, and finally a residual phase in which the

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<sup>12</sup> Robin Gill, *The Myth of the Empty Church* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1993), pp.3-4

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.* p.13

<sup>14</sup> *Religion and Modernisation: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularization Thesis*, ed. by Steve Bruce, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)

<sup>15</sup> Roy Wallis and Steve Bruce, ‘Secularization: The Orthodox Model’ in *ibid.* pp.8-30 (p.9)

<sup>16</sup> Alan D. Gilbert, *The Making of Post-Christian Britain: A history of the secularization of modern Society* (London: Longman, 1980), p.5 Italics as in original

slow decline of the recessive phase is accelerated and gives way to the prospect of extinction.<sup>17</sup> Using this model, the eighteenth-century Evangelical Revival was a period of growth for British Protestantism, the marginal phase began ‘in the beginning of the Victorian era and lasted until the First World War’; the recessive phase continued until around 1960, since when ‘most of the Churches have been caught up in the critical residual phase’.<sup>18</sup> This somewhat general conclusion has a limited application. As I will show in my thesis, Edinburgh churches played a prominent role in the lives of her citizens and nationally between 1850 and 1905, or during ‘the marginal phase’, with some congregations experiencing significant growth.

The historian Callum Brown’s work over several years, notably *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*<sup>19</sup> and *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000*,<sup>20</sup> has drawn attention to the debate on the relationship between urbanisation and secularisation, as religious observance seemed to become less important. His second volume challenges the view that secularisation was a gradual process of decline since the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, which had been the prevailing opinion hitherto. He suggests that from 1800 until 1963 Britain was a ‘highly religious’ nation where the personal rules of Christian conduct were

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<sup>17</sup> *ibid.* pp.78-79

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.* p.79

<sup>19</sup> Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997)

<sup>20</sup> Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2001)

imposed by the people themselves rather than by the state.<sup>21</sup> This conclusion finds an echo in the way the various churches disciplined their members to ensure that their conduct was compatible with their profession of Christian faith.

In his study of the origins of secularisation in English and Welsh nonconformity, Peter Yalden draws a distinction between church members and adherents. As voluntary organisations, non-conformist churches depended on the responsibility and commitment of their members. Adherents, ‘the uncommitted churchgoers’, on the other hand, ‘lacked the distinctive obligations of their members’.<sup>22</sup> Membership involved deep devotion and a considerable level of commitment’.<sup>23</sup> He sees denominationalism as

a significant factor in the secularization of Nonconformity [---] largely inherent in the churches themselves. In beginning its existence as a series of competing voluntary associations with the concept of formal membership, Nonconformity almost certainly contained the seeds of modernisation and pluralisation.<sup>24</sup>

The distinction between full members and adherents affected my analysis of the congregations of the churches examined in Chapter 5, as adherents were not recorded in the membership rolls.

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<sup>21</sup> *ibid.* p.9

<sup>22</sup> Peter Yalden, ‘Association, Community and the Origins of Secularisation: English and Welsh Nonconformity c.1850-1930’ in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 55, No.2 (April 2004) 293-324 (p.295)

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.* p.296

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* p.322

Significant contributions to the secularization debate are also to be found in *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth 1870-1930* by Jeffrey Cox<sup>25</sup> and Hugh McLeod's *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City*,<sup>26</sup> and *Religion and the Working Class in Nineteenth Century Britain*.<sup>27</sup> In *Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen* Allan MacLaren has concentrated on the city of Aberdeen during a significant period.<sup>28</sup> Because of their importance in relation to church membership and attendance, these books will be analysed later.

In Scottish terms, denominationalism began with the fragmentation of Presbyterianism, particularly since the eighteenth century, when

there was a gradual and inexorable shift to a 'voluntaryist' position or belief in the separation of church and state.<sup>29</sup>

At the same time non-Presbyterian congregations were being formed, so that church attendance and belief became matters of individual choice. The eighteenth-century secessions from the Established Church up to the Disruption of 1843 will be described in Chapter 2, and also the growth of other denominations. The social dislocation caused by industrialisation, and the consequential movement of population from the country to towns and cities were also factors in the fragmentation of Christianity. Accordingly, much of the social control exercised by

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<sup>25</sup> Jeffrey Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth 1870-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982)

<sup>26</sup> Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1974)

<sup>27</sup> Hugh McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd. 1984, repr.1993)

<sup>28</sup> Allan MacLaren, *Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974)

<sup>29</sup> Callum Brown, *Religion and Society*, p.17

the Established Church was lost.<sup>30</sup> In addition, as I will show in Chapter 4, during the period under review the state was taking over responsibility for education and welfare, partly because of the duplication in these services caused by denominationalism.

## **Class**

The class structure of the Church of Scotland and its Secessionist offshoots since the early nineteenth received some attention in Donald C. Smith's *Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church 1830-1945*.<sup>31</sup>

Although a general study, written from a theological rather than a historical perspective, Smith's book provides an insight into why churches 'lost' the working classes. As the Established Church, by the early nineteenth century the Church of Scotland was 'one of the greatest defenders of the hierarchical social class system'.<sup>32</sup> For most of the century, she taught that this existing social structure was not only socially and politically desirable, but 'rooted in the divinely ordained structure of the universe'.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly, it was the Christian duty of those at the bottom to be content with their lowly station

because it was assigned to them by the immutable will of God for the total well-being of society.<sup>34</sup>

The Presbyterian Dissenters accepted this viewpoint, arguing that

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<sup>30</sup> Bruce, *A House Divided*, p.26

<sup>31</sup> Donald C. Smith, *Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church 1830-1945* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987)

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.* p. 54

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.* p.55

if there were no rich with their kindly charity and benevolence, the spiritual and material conditions of the lower orders would be desperate.<sup>35</sup>

Even in the mid-nineteenth century, churchmen

still accepted the existing order with almost unquestioning complacency, still taught submission as the prime virtue of the disadvantaged.<sup>36</sup>

They disregarded the environmental influences which caused their misery, instead ascribing their poverty to human failings, both moral and spiritual. Critics have regarded attempts at moral reform as

a class-based movement designed to discipline and control the poor while leaving the upper classes untouched.<sup>37</sup>

However, as will be seen in Chapter 4, the situation began to change with the interest of two Free Church ministers, William Garden Blaikie and James Begg, in improving housing for the underprivileged.<sup>38</sup> Cheyne sees this as the beginning of a revived interest in social criticism within the Scottish Presbyterian churches, leading, by the 1870s, to a re-examination of their attitude to social questions, particularly regarding church attendance.<sup>39</sup>

At this time also, there was a gradual decline in church discipline, which impacted more on the working class than on the middle classes. Through individual

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<sup>35</sup> *ibid.* p.59

<sup>36</sup> A.C. Cheyne, *The Transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1983), p.118

<sup>37</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976), p.109

<sup>38</sup> Cheyne, *Transforming the Kirk*, pp.121-127

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.* pp.127-131

case studies, Chapter 6 of my thesis gives examples of how this discipline was exercised. In Presbyterian churches disciplining was largely in the hands of the office-bearers, while in those churches with a congregational form of government the members as a whole had an important role in decisions, which sometimes involved suspension or exclusion from membership.

Church discipline has been the subject of several studies. A recent extensive work is Alison Hanham's *The Sinners of Cramond: The Struggle to Impose Godly Behaviour on a Scottish Community, 1651-1851*.<sup>40</sup> Using the Kirk Session records of Cramond Parish Church, she examines church discipline in what, for much of that time, was the village centre of a predominantly farming community a few miles north of Edinburgh. Hanham's main focus has been on how succeeding ministers and elders tried to maintain discipline in a period of rapid social change. Her subtitle gives the argument of her theme. The ministers and elders were authoritarian figures, who regarded it as their duty to ensure that all within the parish adhered to the moral standards of behaviour laid down by the Kirk.

Hanham shows that, in the period of her study, the majority of those parishioners called before the Cramond Kirk Session came from the poorer classes, many being farm servants who had borne illegitimate children. Other recurring misdemeanours focussed on public drunkenness or failure to keep the Sabbath, in other words behaviour which brought the sinner's Christian profession into disrepute. As will be shown in the records on church discipline which I have examined, similar cases proved to be the main concern of Edinburgh kirk sessions in the later

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<sup>40</sup> Alison Hanham, *The Sinners of Cramond: The Struggle to Impose Godly Behaviour on a Scottish Community, 1651-1851* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005)



nineteenth century. With the growing middle-class business community in the city, however, bankruptcy, which carried the penalty of imprisonment until 1880, became a problem during an economic recession, especially in the non-Presbyterian churches where shopkeepers and small manufacturers provided the leadership. Nevertheless, some churches differentiated between those whose business failure was caused by carelessness and those who had suffered because of the prevailing economic conditions. These men were treated more compassionately.

The contrast between the predominantly upper- and middle-class office-bearers and the largely working class membership of the Barony Church in Glasgow during the nineteenth century is highlighted by Peter Hillis. He also examines church discipline, comparing the practice at the Barony with other denominations and in other localities.<sup>41</sup> His earlier smaller- scale studies considered membership in some Presbyterian churches and one Baptist church, respectively, ‘Presbyterianism and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Glasgow: a Study of Nine Churches’<sup>42</sup> and ‘The 1891 Membership Roll of Hillhead Baptist Church’.<sup>43</sup> In each of these studies, Hillis codified the various occupations into status groups. This tabulation of the Victorian class structure, which has become a standard reference point for similar work, was of considerable help in my membership analyses, to be discussed in Chapter 5.

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<sup>41</sup> Peter Hillis, *The Barony of Glasgow: A Window onto Churches and People in Nineteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2007), Chapters 4 and 5

<sup>42</sup> Peter Hillis, ‘Presbyterianism and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Glasgow: a Study of Nine Churches’ in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (January 1981) 47-64

<sup>43</sup> Peter Hillis, ‘The 1891 Membership Roll of Hillhead Baptist Church’ in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol.30 (2000) 172-192

Callum Brown has also examined class in relation to church membership.

He suggests that the majority of Presbyterian congregations were dominated by the skilled working class.<sup>44</sup> The evidence for this depends very much on the interpretation of the status of many occupations, not least how the individual perceived himself, or how he was regarded by his fellows. Brown states:

Perhaps Victorian churchmen perceived [these skilled men] as 'middle-class' since they strove to dress appropriately, to pay their seat rents and contributions to church funds, and more generally to uphold the values and ideals which sanctioned elevation in the society.<sup>45</sup>

His use of the word 'perhaps' makes this conclusion somewhat tentative, and he offers no real evidence. However, in *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, the extensive revision of his 1987 book published ten years later, Brown raises the issue of pew rents with regard to working-class participation in worship. Because of the social stigma attached to occupation of cheaper, or free, seats in Presbyterian churches, those from lower-income backgrounds

tended to have strong economic aspirations and to be upwardly mobile in the social structure. The ability to pay for pew rents, and perhaps to forgo other expenditure, became a mark of those who wished to distance themselves from the 'rough' working class and to lay claim to social responsibility.<sup>46</sup>

Particularly in the towns and cities, according to Brown's analysis, the more evangelical dissenting denominations had a greater appeal than the Established

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<sup>44</sup>Callum Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London: Methuen, 1987), p.165

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society*, p.112

Church for artisans, making these churches more socially homogeneous.<sup>47</sup>

In the congregations I studied, contrary to Brown's view, professional classes formed the majority in the Presbyterian churches, although this may have been partly because of the location of these churches and the predominance of law and medicine in Edinburgh. On the other hand, as already noted, congregationally governed churches had more middle-class members, particularly small businessmen and self-employed tradesmen. This may have been due to their greater participation in these churches' governance. I will show that the working classes were not entirely absent from the churches examined, although in some their numbers were not significant. While the churches' concern with these 'lapsed masses' as objects of charity was evident, the problem was that the poor did not participate often in formal religious observance, eschewing church membership, so that evidence of their religious faith was largely unrecorded.

## **Gender**

Closely related to class was the role of women in the church. Barbara J. MacHaffie, a leading American feminist writer, in *Her Story: Women in Christian Tradition*, explores how 'the study of women and the Christian past has developed'.<sup>48</sup> She shows that, while women were prominent in the leadership of the emerging Christian church of the first century, their role gradually diminished as the churches became more established throughout the Graeco-Roman world. As they

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<sup>47</sup> *ibid.* p.113 (Brown also published an article, 'The Costs of Pew-renting: Church Management Church-going and Social Class in Nineteenth Century Glasgow', in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38 No.3 (1987) 347-361. This will be referred to in Chapter 7.)

<sup>48</sup> Barbara J. MacHaffie, *Her Story: Women in Christian Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), p.1

outgrew the simple house-church meetings, their new organisation ‘inherited the institutional structure of the Jewish synagogue’, which of course was dominated by men.<sup>49</sup> It was only with the growth of evangelical revivals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that women again took an active part in public meetings.<sup>50</sup> For example, Charles Finney, the American evangelist, encouraged his wife to lead services and prayer meetings. (Their visit to Edinburgh in 1859 will be described in Chapter 3.) However, MacHaffie concentrates on the American situation and her conclusions do not necessarily reflect the British position.

From a British perspective two books were particularly valuable. In *Constrained by Zeal: Female Spirituality amongst Nonconformists 1825-1875*, Linda Wilson examines the lives of English Baptist, Congregational, Primitive Methodists and Wesleyan women, showing how their experience of the respective churches shaped their spirituality.<sup>51</sup> This ground-breaking work makes a significant step in uncovering the role of women in church history. Wilson shows how English non-conformists challenged the prevailing contemporary attitude that a woman’s service should be limited to the privacy of her home and family. She highlights the value her subjects placed on education and the significance of the Bible in their lives. An unusual element is the use Wilson makes of statistical analyses throughout, indicating the thoroughness of her research. The book therefore provides a useful model for similar comparative studies.

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<sup>49</sup> *ibid.* p.27

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.* pp.108-110

<sup>51</sup> Linda Wilson, *Constrained by Zeal: Female Spirituality amongst Nonconformists 1825-1875* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000)

Lesley Orr Macdonald's *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830-1930*, while exploring how the role of women in the church developed over the period, is limited to Presbyterians and covers Scotland as a whole.<sup>52</sup> Macdonald searches behind the essentially patriarchal history of Scottish Presbyterianism to discover what the women themselves thought of their subservient role in church leadership and government. Using their own stories, she charts their struggle for equal recognition of their work, particularly in home and overseas missions. In this way, she parallels Wilson's work on English non-conformist women.

Among the many examples in Macdonald's book, the story of Mary Slessor is perhaps best known. Of humble background as a mill worker in Dundee, Slessor sailed for Old Calabar in 1876, under the auspices of the United Presbyterian Mission Board.<sup>53</sup> Her desire to live as the natives did, as she penetrated the interior of West Africa, led to conflict with her superiors, who were, of course, men. The contrast Macdonald makes between Slessor's African and Scottish personae illustrates the problems such forceful women faced.

Mary Slessor's disregard for standard mission behaviour derived in part from her own experiences in the factories and streets of Dundee. But had she remained in Scotland, her tremendous gifts and potential would surely have been frustrated, and perhaps entirely stifled, if channelled within the constraints of teaching or home mission work. Indeed when she came home on furlough, Slessor the explorer and dispenser of colonial justice was diffident and uncomfortable in church circles. But in the life she developed for herself in

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<sup>52</sup> Lesley Orr Macdonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830-1930* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000)

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.* pp.140-141

West Africa, she demonstrated the truly liberating possibilities of foreign mission work for women.<sup>54</sup>

This dramatic description is an extreme example of the tensions that Scottish Presbyterian women had to resolve as they sought a more equal place in society. Nor should it be forgotten that many who served on the foreign mission field, like Mary Slessor, were single women. Such illustrations enliven Macdonald's study, which examines the changes brought about under pressure from the women themselves, not only in their churches but in Scottish society generally. It therefore provided useful background to my understanding of nineteenth-century Edinburgh.

A smaller more localised, yet detailed, study is Linda Jeffrey's 'Women in the Churches of Nineteenth Century Stirling' which contrasted the expectations of working- and middle-class women regarding their involvement in church life.<sup>55</sup> She suggests that middle-class ladies in particular needed the churches 'to escape the confines of their homes' while working-class women 'had opportunities at work for socialisation'.<sup>56</sup> Given the nature of their employment and the time required to look after their families, however, their involvement in church life would be limited.

In analysing the role of members in the various churches, I have taken account of the Victorian ideology of separate spheres for men and women. Industrialisation had separated the home from the place of work, making the distinction between the two far greater than in a pre-industrial society. This ideal, with the male as financial provider and the female as homemaker, however, applied

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<sup>54</sup> *ibid.* p.142

<sup>55</sup> Linda Jeffrey, 'Women in the Churches of Nineteenth Century Stirling' (unpublished M. Litt. thesis, University of Stirling, 1996)

<sup>56</sup> *ibid.* p.7

essentially to the middle class, where the family's success was measured by how well the parents performed these roles. Particularly for the ladies, philanthropy outside the home provided an outlet for their energies. It was 'a way of filling up empty time with purposeful activities'.<sup>57</sup> Especially work among children or the poorer members of society confirmed their tasks as carers. Olive Checkland, in *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, suggests that these social attitudes were transferred to the churches through the tasks allotted to the female members.<sup>58</sup> Another writer indicates that such 'feminisation of piety' has contributed to the decline of male church membership, particularly since the nineteenth century.<sup>59</sup> As will be seen from my membership analyses in chapter 5, women formed the majority in each congregation studied, despite their subordinate role. This supports the view that contemporary social values influenced the churches to some extent, although the male/female population ratio also played a part.

## **Church Attendance and Membership**

Previous social analyses of church attendance and membership have concentrated mainly on English cities. In his study of Lambeth, Cox sees the churches, both Anglican and Nonconformist, as 'Victorian England's most important

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<sup>57</sup> Olive Banks, *Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement* (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1981), p.15

<sup>58</sup> Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), p.5

<sup>59</sup> Kristin Aune, 'Making Men Men'; Masculinity and Contemporary Evangelical Identity' in *British Evangelical Identities Past and Present Vol.1 : Aspects of the History and Sociology of Evangelicalism in Britain and Ireland* ed. by Mark Smith (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2008), pp. 153-166 (p.155)

social institution'.<sup>60</sup> With the emergence of the secular state, the different denominations had to compete with each other to attract and retain their members. Religion became a matter of voluntary consent, especially with the separation of the social classes in the large cities.<sup>61</sup>

In his 1974 volume, McLeod recognises three status groups, working class, middle class, and gentry, each with their own neighbourhoods 'where the prevailing style of life accorded with their own'.<sup>62</sup> Non-conformity was 'indigenous to the East End', particularly in Bethnal Green, which had several large Congregational and Baptist chapels. Most of the leaders in these churches were small traders or clerks.<sup>63</sup> However, large numbers of the adult working class no longer attended any church, although they may have been sent there as children.<sup>64</sup> In the 'essentially middle-class' borough of Lewisham, on the other hand, the level of church attendance was among the highest in London.<sup>65</sup> McLeod's comparison between the predominantly working-class East End and the more prosperous Lewisham would seem to support the view that the poor were absent from the nineteenth-century churches. However, as I will show, this conclusion may not be entirely appropriate for Edinburgh churches.

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<sup>60</sup> Cox, *English Churches*, p.7

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.* p.48

<sup>62</sup> McLeod, *Class and Religion*, p.2

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.* pp. 106-107

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.* p. 29

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.* p.170



Ten years later he puts forward a possible reason for the lack of interest among the poor in the services of the Established and some Dissenting churches in Scotland. This was the influence of the Reformation, which he describes as

a victory for the religion of the word, over the religion of ritual and symbol – for the literate minority at the expense of the illiterate masses.<sup>66</sup>

As a distinguished historian of the Reformation period has stated, while ‘the verbal was supplanting the visual’, Scottish Presbyterians committed much to memory, particularly through the Psalter, which ‘offered a familiar repository of biblical imagery sustaining many Scottish Protestants’.<sup>67</sup> This would suggest that McLeod’s assertion that the Reformation had a detrimental effect on the majority in Scottish church life is exaggerated, especially as the reformers sought to appoint a schoolmaster to every church ‘that none may escape the teachers’ net’.<sup>68</sup> The aim was that all should learn to read the Bible for themselves. On the other hand, McLeod states that the poor were often marginalised, as

the whole tone was so clearly set by their social ‘superiors’, where hierarchical seating arrangements emphasised their inferiority, where sermons and prayers spoke the language of the elite and echoed their concerns, where the minister was himself a member of the elite, and on intimate terms with landlords and employers.<sup>69</sup>

While this judgement is more likely to be true in the more fashionable Edinburgh churches, both in the Established Church and in the Free Church of Scotland, as will

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<sup>66</sup> McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class*, p.58

<sup>67</sup> Jane E. A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed 1488-1587* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2007), p.340

<sup>68</sup> T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* pbk. edn. ( London: Fontana 1972), p.68

<sup>69</sup> McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class*, p.58

be seen in Chapters 5 and 7, such a hierarchical structure is less apparent among non-Presbyterian church members.

Allan MacLaren shows that, before the Disruption in 1843, members of the Presbyterian Secession churches, which formed substantial numbers of Aberdeen's church-goers, were predominantly lower-middle class, such as shopkeepers, tradesmen and artisans.<sup>70</sup> At the Disruption, all fifteen Established Church ministers, with a considerable proportion of their congregations, joined the Free Church. The social divisions MacLaren enumerates parallel the class breakdown of the churches I have analysed in Chapter 5.

For Edinburgh, the focus has been on individual churches, such as Alan Harding's article on St. Columba's Episcopal Church.<sup>71</sup> He concentrates on the church's foundation in the 1840s as a mission extension from Old St. Paul's (pp.122-132) and on the liturgical problems which beset Scottish Episcopalianism (pp.132-139). Other works have celebrated significant anniversaries in a church's history. The most recent is Ian Balfour's extensive bicentenary tribute to Charlotte Baptist Chapel, which gives a rich account of the congregation, including its lay ministries.<sup>72</sup> There was no general overview of Edinburgh church life during the period of my thesis, a surprising omission given the city's status as Scotland's capital.

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<sup>70</sup> MacLaren, *Disruption Years*, p.27

<sup>71</sup> Alan Harding, 'A Victorian Church in Edinburgh's Old Town: St. Columba's Episcopal Church in Context' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. 37 (2007) 121-144

<sup>72</sup> Ian L.S. Balfour, *Revival in Rose Street: Charlotte Baptist Chapel, Edinburgh, 1808-2008* (Edinburgh: Rutherford House, 2007)

## Primary Sources

My chief primary sources were individual church records, the majority of which are held in the National Archives of Scotland, formerly the Scottish Record Office, with many of these records now digitised and available on computer screens. The records varied considerably in the kind of information they contained, depending as they did on the interests, or whim, of the person keeping them. Manuscript alterations in, for example, membership rolls were in many cases difficult to decipher. I therefore concentrated on the minutes of the kirk sessions, or their equivalent in the non- Presbyterian churches. These minutes noted approvals for full church membership and so admission to communion. From the later nineteenth century, some churches provided annually for their members printed handbooks, which contained lists of names and addresses, so were more legible than the manuscript records. Other sources of information on individual members were denominational magazines and yearbooks which contained obituaries, although these tended to focus on their more prominent members.

As previously noted, another primary source is biography, in the form of memoirs, written either by a member of the family or close associate, and published shortly after the subject's death. Given his leadership in the Free Church of Scotland and as Principal of New College, Robert Rainy was the subject of at least two biographies, which may be compared. The first was *Principal Rainy: A Biographical Study*, a short volume of around one hundred and thirty pages.<sup>73</sup> A careful reading of

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<sup>73</sup> Robert Mackintosh, *Principal Rainy: A Biographical Study* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1907)

the preface reveals that its author, Robert Mackintosh, was Rainy's nephew.<sup>74</sup>

Although trained at New College for the Free Church ministry, Mackintosh became an assistant minister of Withrington Presbyterian Church in Manchester. He later accepted the charge of a Congregational church in Dumfries, and from 1894 to 1930 was a Professor at Lancashire Independent College, Manchester.<sup>75</sup> The major portion of his biography of Rainy covers the period from the Disruption in 1843 to the union of the Free Church and United Presbyterians in 1900. Nevertheless, the style is anecdotal, interspersing personal memories with discussions on doctrine and church politics. Mackintosh's own doctrinal journey may have determined this approach, while also honouring a distinguished relative.

This small volume was superseded by P. Carnegie Simpson's magisterial two-volume biography, *The Life of Principal Rainy* published in 1909.<sup>76</sup> Simpson also trained for the Free Church ministry at New College. His first charge was a Presbyterian Church in Surrey. In 1899 he was appointed minister of Renfield Free Church, Glasgow, overseeing its transition to United Free in the union of 1900. He remained there until 1911, when he moved to Egremont Presbyterian Church in Cheshire. In 1914 Simpson became Professor of Church History at the Presbyterian Westminster College, Cambridge, where he remained until his retirement in 1938 at the age of seventy-three.<sup>77</sup> Simpson's biography is therefore much more authoritative

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<sup>74</sup> *ibid.* Preface pp. v-vi

<sup>75</sup> A. P.F. Sell, 'Robert Mackintosh' in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* ed. by Nigel M. de S. Cameron and others (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), p.525

<sup>76</sup> P. Carnegie Simpson, *The Life of Principal Rainy*, 2 vols. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909)

<sup>77</sup> F. F. Bruce, 'Patrick Carnegie Simpson' in *DSCHT*, p.774

and scholarly, ‘an ecclesiastical history as well as a biography’.<sup>78</sup> Despite this assertion, Simpson’s treatment of his subject almost approaches hagiography in some instances, so requires careful evaluation. A popular edition, printed on cheaper paper, was later published, with the two volumes bound in one.<sup>79</sup> At around one thousand closely-printed pages it was still a massive read, but this edition made the work more accessible to an increasingly literate public.

Further examples of the family history are Helen Kirk’s memoir of her father, John Kirk, a leading figure in the Evangelical Union group of congregational churches,<sup>80</sup> and the biography of Thomas Guthrie, the Free Church minister, written by his sons, David and Charles.<sup>81</sup> While giving an account of the public work of their fathers, each also provides an intimate chronicle of their family life. Inadvertently, they also illustrate the social disparity in the middle-class lifestyle of the ministers, as compared with that of the working-class population in the poorer areas of the city.

Indeed, ministerial biography was something of a growth industry in publishing during this period. Robert Candlish, one of the Disruption leaders, merited two. The earlier, which became the standard, was by William Wilson, a Free Church minister,

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<sup>78</sup> Simpson, *Life of Rainy* I, Preface p. iii

<sup>79</sup> Patrick Carnegie Simpson, *The Life of Principal Rainy* Popular Edition (London: Hodder and Stoughton, n.d.)

<sup>80</sup> Helen Kirk, *Memoirs of Rev. John Kirk D D Professor of Pastoral Theology in the Evangelical Union Theological Hall* (Edinburgh: John R. Fairgrieve, 1888)

<sup>81</sup> David Guthrie and Charles J. Guthrie, *Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie D.D. and Memoir by his sons* (London: Daldry, Isbister and Co., 1877)

who became its Moderator at the 1866 General Assembly;<sup>82</sup> the second, published in 1882, was by Candlish's daughter.<sup>83</sup> Another subject was James Begg of Newington, Edinburgh, whose biographer was Thomas Smith.<sup>84</sup> A significant figure in evangelism among the working class was James Hood Wilson; the study by James Wells is a very detailed account of his life and work, especially in Barclay Church.<sup>85</sup> Finally in that group of eminent Free Churchmen, we have Alexander Whyte of Free St. George's, whose life story, written by his nephew, G. F. Barbour, a Scottish landowner and prominent layman, 'has remained a classic of its kind'.<sup>86</sup>

Representing the United Presbyterians (formerly United Secession), is John Brown of Broughton Place, whose biographer, John Cairns, was one of his students at the United Secession Theological Hall and ministered in Berwick-upon-Tweed from 1845 to 1875, thereafter becoming a professor and later Principal of the Hall.<sup>87</sup> The most famous of Edinburgh's Congregational ministers was Lindsay Alexander of Augustine Church. The story of his life and work was written by James Ross, a former journalist, who studied for the ministry under Alexander. He later held office in the Congregational Union of Scotland, playing a leading role when that body

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<sup>82</sup> William Wilson, *Memorials of Robert Smith Candlish DD* (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1880); N.R. Needham, 'William Wilson' in *DSCHT*, pp. 875-6

<sup>83</sup> Jean L. Watson, *Life of Robert Smith Candlish DD* (Edinburgh: James Gemmell, 1882)

<sup>84</sup> Thomas Smith, *Memoirs of James Begg DD Minister of Newington Free Church, Edinburgh*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: James Gemmell, 1885 and 1888)

<sup>85</sup> James Wells, *The Life of James Hood Wilson of the Barclay Church, Edinburgh*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1905)

<sup>86</sup> G.F. Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte* (London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., 1923); R.S. Barbour, 'George Freeland Barbour' in *DSCHT*, pp. 60-61

<sup>87</sup> John Cairns, *Memoir of John Brown DD* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1860); Needham, 'John Cairns' in *DSCHT*, pp. 117-8. (Cairns himself was the subject of a biography, A.R. MacEwen's *Life and Letters of John Cairns* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1895)).

united with the Evangelical Union.<sup>88</sup> A leading Church of Scotland minister was A. H. Charteris, appointed Professor of Biblical Criticism at Edinburgh University in 1868, a post from which he retired thirty years later. His biographer was Arthur Gordon.<sup>89</sup> References from all these biographies are noted at appropriate points in the subsequent chapters.

Other prominent Edinburgh ministers so honoured were William Cunningham, who in 1844 became the first professor of theology at New College, transferring to ecclesiastical history in 1845 and succeeding Chalmers as Principal in 1847. His biographer was perhaps a more renowned successor, Robert Rainy.<sup>90</sup> Another academic, representing the Established Church, was Robert Flint who was appointed professor of divinity at Edinburgh University in 1876, having previously been a professor at St. Andrews following parish ministry. He died in 1910.<sup>91</sup> Nor are those who remained parish ministers forgotten, as we note two St. Giles' incumbents. The first is James Cameron Lees, who became minister there in 1877. During his tenure the church building was remodelled, making it much as it is today. In keeping with his position as minister of St. Giles, he was appointed Dean of the Order of the Thistle and of the Chapel Royal of Scotland in 1886. He was knighted in 1909 and died in 1913. His biographer, Norman McLean, was minister of

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<sup>88</sup> James Ross, *W. Lindsay Alexander: His Life and Work* (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1887); W. D. McNaughton 'James Ross' in *DSCHT*, pp. 730-731

<sup>89</sup> Arthur Gordon, *Life of Archibald Hamilton Charteris DD LLD* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912)

<sup>90</sup> Robert Rainy, *Life of William Cunningham DD* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1871); D. Macleod, 'William Cunningham' in *DSCHT*, pp.229-231

<sup>91</sup> D. MacMillan, *The Life of Robert Flint DD LLD* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914); D. M. Murray, 'Robert Flint' in *DSCHT*, p.326

St. Cuthbert's from 1915 to 1937.<sup>92</sup> Finally, C.N. Johnston (Lord Sands) honoured Andrew Wallace Williamson, minister of St. Cuthbert's from 1883 until 1910 when he was called to St. Giles. He retired in 1925.<sup>93</sup> These examples of biography show the diversity of scholarship and achievement among Edinburgh's ecclesiastical community. We shall meet Lord Sands as an elder in St. Stephen's.

From the above evidence, the major part of the historiography of the Church in Scotland during the nineteenth century was written by Presbyterian ministers. As already indicated, they concentrated on the dominant form of church government. While Presbyterianism, either Established or Free Church, was the majority faith in rural areas, my research has shown that Edinburgh had a greater diversity of religious practice, sometimes bordering on the exotic.

## **Methodology**

There are two main approaches. Firstly, to set the context of the thesis, Chapters 1 to 4 offer a general study of the city's social, political and religious life. Secondly, there is a focus on individual churches with, in Chapter 5, a statistical analysis to determine the socio-economic status of their members. The next two chapters are particularly relevant in discussing class and gender relationships. Using case studies from individual churches, in Chapter 6 I consider how they disciplined their members to control their behaviour, a practice which impacted particularly on lower-class women. Chapter 7 examines evangelistic outreach within the city, as

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<sup>92</sup> N. Maclean, *Life of James Cameron Lees KCVO DD LLD* (Glasgow: Maclehose Jackson, 1922); D. M. Murray 'Sir James Cameron Lees' in *DSCHT*, p.477

<sup>93</sup> C. N. Johnston, *The Life of Andrew Wallace Williamson* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1929); D.F. Wright, 'Andrew Wallace Williamson' in *DSCHT*, p.873



individual churches and nondenominational agencies, such as the Edinburgh City Mission, sought to reach the poor with the gospel and to alleviate their social conditions.

Because of the volume of material, it was necessary to concentrate on a few churches for the detailed studies in Chapter 5, with additional information from some others included in the general chapters. Selection was based on the church's location within the city and also its denomination. While a prominent Roman Catholic congregation, St. Patrick's in the Cowgate, was considered for inclusion, the records held in the Scottish Catholic Archives were insufficient for my purpose, consisting mainly of names of the various guild members, mostly male. Similarly, Episcopalian records did not provide enough useful material.

Those church memberships analysed in Chapter 5 are from contrasting pairs of congregations. The two Presbyterians are St. Stephen's Church of Scotland and Free St. George's, situated in the north and west of the New Town respectively. The late eighteenth-century Argyle Square Chapel, which became Augustine Congregational Church, is compared with the nearby Brighton Street Evangelical Union (Congregational) Church, established in 1845. Because of their different forms of church order, (to be described in Chapters 2 and 5) two Baptist congregations are considered. The first was founded in 1765 as the original Scotch Baptist church, which was led by a lay pastorate consisting of at least two elders. The congregation met in Bristo Place during the period of this study and, as Bristo Baptist Church, is

the oldest continuing Baptist church in Scotland.<sup>94</sup> The other, Charlotte Baptist Chapel, situated in Rose Street, began in 1808 on ‘English’ lines, with the form of church leadership common among Baptists in England. This consisted of one full-time pastor paid by the congregation. Charlotte Chapel now has the largest membership of Scottish Baptist churches. The data distilled from the church records, and other sources, are contained in the appendices to this thesis, which support the social analysis of their members tabulated in Chapter 5. These details of membership will be of considerable help to future scholars in this field.

As a counterweight to the predominantly middle-class church records, I have also examined two nondenominational mission agencies which operated primarily among the poor. The Edinburgh City Mission was established for evangelistic work throughout the city, while Carrubber’s Close Mission, in the High Street, worked with the population in its immediate vicinity. The locations of all these records are given in the relevant footnotes.

With that introduction, we now turn to the city of Edinburgh itself as we consider its physical structure, people and politics. The building of the New Town created the beginnings of a socially segregated city. Let us look at these contrasting, yet interlinked, worlds.

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<sup>94</sup> A Baptist church in Keiss, Caithness was founded in 1750 by the landowner, Sir William Sinclair, with membership drawn from his tenants. A few years ago this now tiny fellowship joined with Wick Baptist Church.

## CHAPTER 1: PHYSICAL STRUCTURE, PEOPLE, POLITICS

### Introduction

So that we may understand the social structure of Edinburgh in the middle of the nineteenth century we need to consider its development during the preceding hundred years. To all outward appearance, the Edinburgh of the early 1700s was still mediaeval, surrounded by ancient walls with, as its northern boundary, the valley of the North Loch, now Princes Street Gardens, and eastwards towards what is now Waverley Station. The main thoroughfare, really four streets in one – Castlehill, Lawnmarket, High Street and Canongate - running from the Castle to Holyrood Palace, was known as the Royal Mile. Six gates, or ports, gave access, while outside the city walls of Edinburgh proper were the fashionable burghs of the Canongate (the fourth of the streets) and Portsburgh, the trade or business quarter, in all a total city population of about 40,000.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 Physical development

Imagine, if you will, the burgh of the Canongate at the foot of the Royal Mile. In the tall, tightly-packed tenements there lived, in close proximity:

two Dukes, sixteen Earls, seven Barons, seven Judges, and thirteen baronets, and with them in perfect amity side by side many of the poorest in the land.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Anon. *Edinburgh: 1329-1929: Sexcentenary of Bruce Charter* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1929), p. 212

<sup>2</sup> Ronald Selby Wright, *An Illustrated Guide to the Canongate Kirk, Parish and Churchyard* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1965), p.28

At the end of the Canongate was Holyrood, the home of an unusual population. As well as a royal palace, it provided sanctuary for those threatened with imprisonment for debt. The right of girth, or sanctuary, is referred to in a process before the Supreme Courts in 1569 as having existed since the Abbey of the Holy Rood was founded by King David I in 1128,

quhilk privilege has been inviolable observit to all manner of personis cumand wytin the bounds aforesaid, not commit and, the crymes expresslie exceptit for all manner of girth; and that in all tymes bigane past memorie of man. <sup>3</sup>

By the seventeenth century, responsibility for those seeking sanctuary rested with the Bailie, or keeper, of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, a hereditary office held by the Dukes of Hamilton. Those anxious to avoid their creditors lived in ‘a cluster of houses round the palace’.<sup>4</sup> As they could not be arrested on a Sunday, the debtors were allowed one day’s freedom each week, provided that they returned to their voluntary imprisonment by sunset. If any creditor saw his debtor among those streaming across the sanctuary boundary into the Canongate, the creditor would do his best to prevent his return and arrest him. Accordingly, despite his apparent freedom on Sunday, the debtor had to keep a constant watch. The right of sanctuary remained until imprisonment for debt was abolished in 1880, although the houses were demolished in 1857. Their somewhat ramshackle appearance probably led Sir Walter Scott, when he was himself facing bankruptcy, to write in his journal on 1 November 1827

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted from *Acta Dom. Concilii. et Sessionis* in Sir Daniel Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1891), II p.255

<sup>4</sup> James Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh: Its History, its People, and its Places*, 3 vols., (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1882), II p.60

I suppose that I, the Chronicler of the Canongate, will have to take up my residence in the Sanctuary, unless I prefer the more airy residence of the Calton Jail.<sup>5</sup>

However, the mid-eighteenth century was to mark the beginning of a new Edinburgh. In 1752 there was published a pamphlet entitled *Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh*. Although he was not the author, the pamphlet owed much to the Lord Provost George Drummond who held office for the third time from 1750 to 1751.<sup>6</sup> The object of the pamphlet was

To enlarge and improve this city, to adorn it with public buildings, which may be a national benefit, and thereby to remove, at least in some degree, the inconveniences to which it has hitherto been liable.<sup>7</sup>

In this way it was hoped to halt the drift of the ‘quality’ to London, which had been accelerated by the parliamentary union of 1707, and make Edinburgh a city fit to be the ‘metropolis of Scotland when a separate kingdom and still the chief city of North Britain.’<sup>8</sup> With the publication of these *Proposals* the movement for the transformation of the city was set in train.

A series of Acts of Parliament from 1753 onwards extended the city boundaries to accommodate its increasing population. The preamble to the first of these Improvement Acts, that of 1753, lamented certain conditions of the city, in particular ‘the lack of convenient accesses and of proper public buildings’.<sup>9</sup> Under this Act,

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<sup>5</sup> Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh*, II p. 255 (The Calton Jail had opened in 1817, replacing the Tolbooth Prison.)

<sup>6</sup> A.J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh 1750-1840* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966; reissued 1993), p.3 (A major part of the pamphlet is printed in pp.3 to 12.)

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* pp. 6-7

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* p.5

<sup>9</sup> Anon. *Edinburgh 1329-1929*, p. 213

responsibility was entrusted, not to the Town Council, but to thirty-five

Commissioners who were nominated and empowered to erect public buildings and also to make

easy and commodious access between the High Street of the city and the country northward, southward, and westward to the utmost extent of the present royalty.<sup>10</sup>

The first improvement under the 1753 Act was the building of the merchants'

Exchange, now the City Chambers, in the High Street.

Before the North Loch could be bridged for further building, the boundaries of the burgh, or royalty, had to be extended. Plans for this had been discussed as early as 1750, when the city Magistrates had prepared a Bill to be laid before Parliament for permission. However, they did not proceed because their plans had been opposed by the county landowners.<sup>11</sup> Their reasons are not stated, but within a few years the increasing pressure for space made such an extension essential and the landowners' opposition was withdrawn.<sup>12</sup>

In 1759, when drainage of the North Loch began, the Magistrates had issued a pamphlet, for public consultation, in which they stated that an Act of Parliament was necessary

in order to enlarge the limits of the town chiefly towards the north for the mutual advantage of those who may hereafter inhabit the adjacent fields and of the inhabitants of the present city.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.* p.214

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

The new boundaries were to include the lands purchased by the town ‘or which might afterwards become the property of the town’, and also all the feus granted by the charities Heriot’s Hospital and Trinity Hospital, where the feuars, by their charters had to ‘bear a proportion of the public burdens and the taxes of the city’.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps this statement indicates one reason for the original opposition. (A feu is a Scottish form of land tenure whereby the owner grants rights to the use of land, often for house-building, in return for an annual payment known as feu duty. The feuar is the person to whom this right is granted.)

The Act, passed in 1767, finally allowed the North Bridge to be built. However, the magistrates had already commenced building the bridge in 1763 when the Lord Provost, again Drummond, had laid the foundation stone.<sup>15</sup> Completed in 1772, the bridge gave access from the north side of the High Street to the new district across the North Loch. Subsequent legislation, in 1785, 1786, 1809 and 1814, paved the way for new buildings to the north of what was to become Princes Street, and also west towards Haymarket, the area known today as the New Town.

However, this was not Edinburgh’s first New Town. From the 1760s, ‘houses that were deemed fine mansions’ were erected in what became George Square.<sup>16</sup> These buildings, and also those in the neighbouring Buccleuch Place, were constructed in the Scottish vernacular style rather than

the more imposing international classicism of the buildings of the New Town north of the drained North Loch.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.* p. 405

<sup>16</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, II, p. 269

<sup>17</sup> David Daiches, *Edinburgh* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978), p. 108

So the city as we know it gradually took shape with access to the new areas to the north via the Mound, from the Lawnmarket, and to the south via South Bridge.

Edinburgh's reputation as 'the Athens of the North' came at a price.

When the North Bridge was almost completed, the next project was the erection of a building suitable to house the public records of Scotland, then stored, somewhat neglected, in

two laigh rooms under the Inner Session House [---] the ratts, mice and other vermine having defaced the most valuable of them'.<sup>18</sup>

In 1767 the city council appealed to the Treasury for assistance as they had no funds available. The government allocated £12,000 from money obtained by the sale of forfeited estates (after the 1745 rebellion) and trustees were appointed to administer the fund. A prominent site, at the junction of North Bridge and Princes Street, was acquired, despite complaints that it was, at the northern boundary of the royalty, too far from the Law Courts. Robert and James Adam were appointed architects. The foundation stone was laid on 27 June 1774 and the construction of Register House was begun. Progress was deliberately slow, as the following minute of the Trustees shows:

when the work comes to go on, there shall be no building during the winter, that is after the last day of October, nor before the first of March, and that the building shall be carried on so leisurely from year to year as to allow the parts built successively to settle and consolidate, before the others are put above them.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Youngson, *Classical Edinburgh*, p. 65

<sup>19</sup> Minutes of the Trustees, 30 July 1772, quoted *ibid.* p.66



Unsurprisingly, funds ran low and work stopped for six years, leaving Adam's acknowledged masterpiece 'the most magnificent pigeon house in Europe.'<sup>20</sup> Once more the government stepped in, and in 1788 the first part of the building was ready for occupation.

Another important building of this period was the new University of Edinburgh (now known as Old College). Edinburgh, the youngest of Scotland's four ancient universities, was a post-Reformation Protestant foundation established by the Town Council, so known as the "Toun College". In 1558 Robert Reid

had bequeathed to the town of Edinburgh the sum of 8,000 merks for the purpose of erecting a University within the city.<sup>21</sup>

While Queen Mary, in 1566, had prepared a charter to provide an endowment for the College, her abdication the following year and the consequent turmoil meant that it could not be put into effect. It was left to her son, James VI, to grant the foundation charter in 1582, carrying out his mother's wishes. Building at Kirk o' Field, the site of Darnley's murder in 1567, had begun the previous year and the Council appointed Mr Robert Rollock, then at St. Andrews, as professor. He commenced teaching on 11 October 1583.<sup>22</sup>

By the late-eighteenth century, it had become necessary to replace these sixteenth-century buildings, which an Italian traveller in 1788 described as 'nothing else than a mass of ruined buildings of very ancient construction.'<sup>23</sup> At this time there were around one thousand students and the professors included some of the most

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<sup>20</sup> Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. XVII, p.163, quoted p.67

<sup>21</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, III, p.8

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.* p.20

eminent men of the Scottish Enlightenment. A more imposing structure was required. On 2 November 1789 the Council decided to advertise for subscriptions to finance the new building with Robert Adam appointed as architect. The foundation stone was laid two weeks later, £15,366 having been promised.<sup>24</sup> Construction did not proceed according to plan, however. Contracts proved troublesome as members of the Town Council and Trustees tried to secure jobs for themselves and their friends. Adam died in 1792.

With the outbreak of war against revolutionary France in the following year, work was slowed, then was stopped in order to meet the needs of manpower for the war effort. In addition, a succession of bad harvests increased the price of food so that the Edinburgh Town Council had to spend more on poor relief. The situation was so grave that in 1799, following the example of their predecessors at Register House, the Trustees sought help from the Treasury in London. In their petition to Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate and responsible for government in Scotland, they explained that all the money had been spent and they had accumulated £5,000 debt. The document goes on to describe the effect on the students.

[A] considerable part of the east and north fronts [are] unroofed, and the beams and joisting exposed to the injury of the weather; the College area being at the same time embarrassed with sheds, stones and other materials [---] the thirteen hundred students [---] suffer in many respects greater inconveniences than were felt during the miserable state of the old buildings.<sup>25</sup>

Probably more important to the Trustees was the possibility that the ‘great expense’ already incurred would be of no avail as the new building was open to the elements, a not inconsiderable problem in a city notorious for its winds. In addition the

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<sup>24</sup> Youngson, *Classical Edinburgh*, p.128

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.* p.130

tradesmen were demanding payment, even though they had been promised interest.

The petition ends with the plea,

while the Trustees do not yet know from what funds either principal or interest is to come [---]  
they presume to ask for some help in the admirable task of completing the unfinished and  
decaying buildings.<sup>26</sup>

Although a grant of £5,000 was made to secure the building, it was not until July 1815, the war with France finally over, that the Council advertised for architects to submit plans to complete the new University buildings. William Playfair was given the commission and in the same year Parliament granted the Town Council the annual sum of £10,000 for ten years to finish the work. However, it was not finally completed until 1834.<sup>27</sup>

Between 1780 and 1827 the population of Edinburgh doubled from 60,000 to 120,000 and the building of the New Town and, beyond the old walls, the southern extension to George Square led to unprecedented development.<sup>28</sup> The aristocracy, professional men and wealthy merchants now moved from the cramped confines of the Old Town to the magnificent splendour of these spacious streets. The social stratification of the city had begun. The Old Town was left for those who could not afford to move and became increasingly crowded as immigration from the neighbouring countryside and small towns and, to a lesser extent from the Highlands of Scotland and Ireland, added to the population.

Part of the city's early nineteenth-century expansion was due to improved transport links to meet the demands of an industrialising economy. Among the

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<sup>26</sup> *ibid.* p.131

<sup>27</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, III, p.23

<sup>28</sup> Anon. *Edinburgh 1329-1929*, p.218

earliest was the Union Canal for the transmission of heavy goods between Edinburgh and Glasgow by linking to the Forth and Clyde Canal. As well as goods, there was provision for passenger boats. An Act of Parliament in 1817 empowered a joint stock company to cut the canal which was begun a year later and completed in 1822. The prospect of work on digging the canal brought the first large-scale Irish immigration to the city.<sup>29</sup> There is a certain notoriety attached to the construction of the canal, since among these Irish labourers were Burke and Hare, who developed a profitable sideline in murder, selling the bodies of their victims to Dr. Robert Knox, the ambitious lecturer in anatomy at the Edinburgh University Medical School and rival to Professor Alexander Monro, *tertius*.<sup>30</sup> The eastern terminus of the canal, Port Hopetoun,

occasioned the rapid erection of a somewhat important suburb, where before there stood only a few scattered houses surrounded by fields and groves of pretty trees.<sup>31</sup>

A few years after the Union Canal opened came the railways, the first of which were used to carry coal from the outlying mining areas. Each railway required an act of parliament before it could be constructed. The earliest of these coal-carrying railways was that between Leith and Dalkeith, in Midlothian, completed in 1833. Because there were no accidents on the line it became known as the ‘Innocent Railway.’ Soon the city was encircled with railway lines. Where the railways went, industries followed. Breweries, distilleries, rubber, chemical, and print works, were all to be found near the railways. For those employed in these factories housing was

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<sup>29</sup> Robert Q. Gray, *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 11

<sup>30</sup> Owen Dudley Edwards, *Burke and Hare* (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, n.d.), p.iii

<sup>31</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, II, p.215

necessary as the Old Town had become increasingly overcrowded. So were built the late-Victorian tenement flats which have been called ‘irregular squalid suburbs’ surrounding the city.<sup>32</sup> This contrasts with the classical, carefully planned symmetry of the New Town. However, even some of these New Town streets were left incomplete as funds were diverted to develop the railways.

Later improvements, too, did not come without controversy. In 1871 work began on a new street to link George IV Bridge and South Bridge. The construction of what is now Chambers Street

swept away Adam Square, North College Street, and several historic wynds, and otherwise completely altered the appearance of this locality.<sup>33</sup>

The demolished houses were ‘massive, convenient and not inelegant, and in some instances three storeys in height’.<sup>34</sup> From the 1730s they had been home to the aristocracy and professional men who had left nearby South Bridge as it became more commercialised.

From the 1880s to the early 1900s Edinburgh expanded further to the west, south, and east as surrounding country areas were built upon. The artisans who could afford to do so moved into new flats in Leith Walk and Easter Road in the east, and Gorgie or Dalry in the west, while the middle- and upper-classes went further from the centre to the more expensive flats and imposing mansions and villas on the outskirts of the city. The age of suburbia had come, further assisted by the introduction of the

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<sup>32</sup> Anon. *Edinburgh 1329-1929*, p.412

<sup>33</sup> W. M. Gilbert, ed., *Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: J & R Allan, Limited, 1901), p.230

<sup>34</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, II, p.271

horse-drawn tram in 1871, gradually replaced by cable traction from 1888.<sup>35</sup> For those with higher wages it was no longer necessary to live near the workplace. So after a hundred years, the duke no longer lived beside, or even near, the dustman. Demarcation lines, both economic and geographical, between the various strata of Edinburgh society were firmly in place.

## **1.2 People**

Having set the social geography in this city of contrasts, let us now examine the society of nineteenth-century Edinburgh. From the confines of its mediaeval royalty, to the elegant grandeur of the New Town, and splendour of its Victorian suburbs the city has grown to accommodate her professional and merchant class. Interspersed with these are the more humble dwellings of the ordinary people, manufacturing workers, shop assistants, and various tradesmen. While it was no longer the seat of Parliament, Edinburgh still retained the status of a capital city. It had within its boundaries headquarters for finance, insurance and investment companies, and the Court of Session, the highest law court of Scotland. It was the meeting place of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and, from 1843, that of the Free Church. In 1847, the United Secession and Relief Churches came together to form the United Presbyterian Church. That Church's governing body, or Synod, also met in the city. To some extent these three church assemblies substituted for the Scottish Parliament, which had been dissolved in 1707.

Edinburgh was important for education, having a number of private schools and the University. It was also a world renowned centre for medical training with its

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<sup>35</sup> Daiches, *Edinburgh*, p.221

large teaching hospital. The city therefore had a strong professional core as regards employment, based mainly on law, education and medicine. Publishing and printing played an important role in supporting these professions. Otherwise, the city's industrial base was relatively small, consisting mainly of services and the manufacture of consumer goods for an essentially local market.

The most striking feature of the period 1850-1905 was the growth of the urban population as Scotland became increasingly dominated by her four main cities. Although Edinburgh's population did not grow as rapidly as that of Glasgow or Dundee, which were both more heavily industrialised, nevertheless between 1851 and 1871 her population increased from 160,302 to 196,979.<sup>36</sup> Connected to this population increase was the movement to the new suburbs to the south and west, paralleling the exodus from the Old to the New Town a hundred years earlier. In response to this shift was the 'mania for church building which became almost frenzied' as the three main Presbyterian churches competed with each other in 'passionate evangelicalism'.<sup>37</sup>

### **1.3 Politics**

With the social and physical changes came political change. The turning point in Edinburgh's politics, as in Scotland as a whole, came with the Reform Act of 1832. Henry Cockburn, who, as Solicitor-General, had assisted in drafting the Scottish legislation, expressed his understandable enthusiasm thus:

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<sup>36</sup> Robert Q. Gray, *Labour Aristocracy*, p.9

<sup>37</sup> T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London: Allan Lane, 1999), p. 332

It is impossible to exaggerate the ecstasy of Scotland, where to be sure it is like liberty given to slaves: we are to be brought out of the house of bondage, out of the land of Egypt.<sup>38</sup>

What was the effect of electoral reform on Edinburgh? To appreciate the extent of the change we should first examine the pre- Reform situation. Under the 1707 Act of Union, the city had one member nominated by the Town Council, who elected from their own number delegates who in turn chose the Member of Parliament. The citizens as a whole were not consulted. From 1768 to 1832 Edinburgh was represented by successive members of the notable Scottish legal family of Dundas. The most prominent was Henry Dundas who entered Parliament in 1774 as the Member for Edinburghshire (Midlothian), a seat which was in his family's gift. In 1790 he transferred to the city of Edinburgh, 'representation of the capital now being consonant with his dignity.'<sup>39</sup> He served as Member of Parliament until 1803, when he was raised to the House of Lords as Viscount Melville. Henry Dundas had become Lord Advocate in 1775 and, as noted above, had total responsibility for government in Scotland. His powers of patronage were such that he was known as 'King Harry the Ninth'. His 'Dundas despotism' has been described by one leading Scottish historian as

more clumsy than savage, and its increasing unpopularity stemmed more from its incompetence, shown up by smart young Whig lawyers in the Edinburgh courts than from its viciousness.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Henry Cockburn, *Journal of Henry Cockburn*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874 ), I, p.5

<sup>39</sup> Michael Fry, 'Henry Dundas (1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Melville)' in *New Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 17, 274-281 (p.275)

<sup>40</sup> Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707-1977* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977), p.82



The Reform Act of 1832 was the culmination of a long campaign in which Cockburn, although a nephew of Dundas on his mother's side, had played a leading role. In March 1823 he had written "Considerations submitted to the Householders of Edinburgh, on the State of their Representation in Parliament" in preparation for a public meeting to consider a petition on the subject.<sup>41</sup> The petition, drawn up by his friend Francis Jeffrey, asked Parliament

to confer on the householders the right of electing the member for the city, under such limitations as might seem proper.<sup>42</sup>

Despite 6,847 signatures, the petition, and a proposed Bill to amend Edinburgh's representation, was rejected. Three years later a second attempt was made, this time supported by 7,242 householders as signatories to the petition. This was opposed by the sitting MP, William Dundas, and again rejected by the House of Commons. The result was rioting as protests grew.

With the change to a Whig government under Earl Grey, the prospect for reform became more hopeful, especially with the appointment of Francis Jeffrey as Lord Advocate and Henry Cockburn as Solicitor-General in December 1830. Cockburn gives his view of the situation in the closing sentences of his *Memorials*:

We have come upon the public stage in a splendid, but perilous scene. I trust that we shall do our duty. If we do, we cannot fail to do some good to Scotland. In the abuses of our representative and municipal systems alone, our predecessors have left us in fields in which patriotism may exhaust itself.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*, ed. by Karl F.C. Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 378

<sup>42</sup> Anon, *Edinburgh 1329-1929*, p.262

<sup>43</sup> Cockburn, *Memorials*, p.438

The inadequacies of the pre-Reform electoral system were evident in the case of Francis Jeffrey. As he did not have a parliamentary seat when he was appointed Lord Advocate, he had to find one, becoming the member for Malton, in Yorkshire, incurring a personal cost of £10,000.<sup>44</sup> At a subsequent election, the citizens of Edinburgh petitioned the Town Council to nominate Jeffrey as their MP. Despite the support of 17,000 signatures, the Council elected another Dundas, Robert Adam, by seventeen votes to fourteen. Such was the outcry at this that the Lord Provost

narrowly escaped being thrown over the North Bridge and was pursued into a shop in Leith Street, from which he had to be rescued by a troop of dragoons.<sup>45</sup>

As we shall see below, however, Robert Dundas's tenure as Edinburgh's Member of Parliament was to be short-lived.

Jeffrey was successful in the election for Perth Burghs, since at that time a candidate could stand for more than one constituency. At last he, with Thomas Kennedy, the Member for Ayr Burghs, was able to pilot the Scottish Reform Bill through Parliament. The passage of the Bill, however, was not without its excitements. In May 1832 word reached Edinburgh that the Prime Minister, Earl Grey, had resigned, putting any further progress in jeopardy.<sup>46</sup> A few days later, Grey was recalled, prompting Cockburn to respond:-

Loud was the popular joy, most grave though grateful was the relief of observant and calm men, who saw the country unexpectedly delivered from a crisis more painfully interesting than any that had occurred in Britain since 1688.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Michael Fry, 'Francis, Lord Jeffrey', in *NDNB* 29, 876-880 (p.880)

<sup>45</sup> Anon, *Edinburgh 1329-1929*, p.263

<sup>46</sup> Cockburn, *Journal*, I, p.29

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.* p.31

The Bill finally received the royal assent on 4 June 1832. In a letter to Kennedy the following day Cockburn enthused

So Reform is safe at last! an event not inferior to the Revolution.<sup>48</sup>

For the Whig Cockburn, therefore, the Reform Act of 1832 had the same political significance as the Glorious Revolution of 1688, when the Roman Catholic James VII and II was forced to abdicate in favour of his Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, William of Orange.

How did the Reform Act affect Edinburgh's politics? Under the Act, the Scottish electorate as a whole had increased from 4,500 to 65,000 as the middle classes were enfranchised. It was in the burghs, however, that the consequences were most marked. No longer did the right to nominate their Members of Parliament lie with the self-perpetuating oligarchies of the Town Councils but was given to the new electors, the £10 householders, effectively the middle classes. Edinburgh's parliamentary boundary was enlarged beyond the old royalty to take in 'the entire population recognised as belonging to the community of the city.'<sup>49</sup> In addition the city's representation was increased to two Members.

### **1.3.1 Adam Black**

Among the Edinburgh citizen's who supported the extension of the franchise was Adam Black, a prominent publisher and bookseller, and deacon in a Congregational Church. His shop became a meeting-place for the reformers. With the passing of the

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<sup>48</sup> Henry Cockburn, *Letters Chiefly connected with the Affairs of Scotland* (London: William Ridgway, 1874), p. 410

<sup>49</sup> Anon. *Edinburgh 1329-1929*, p.218

Reform Act, Black lost no time, calling a meeting to decide on their course of action with regard to the choice of parliamentary candidates. Under the pseudonym “A Shopkeeper”, he published a pamphlet naming several whom he considered suitable, recommending the Lord Advocate, Francis Jeffrey, and James Abercromby. Soon after, at a meeting of the Merchant Company (an association of Edinburgh’s leading business men) Black proposed that measures should be taken to secure the return of the two candidates whom he recommended ‘as the first real representatives of the city of Edinburgh’.<sup>50</sup> This was agreed unanimously and a committee appointed for this task, with Black as convenor, the earliest Liberal committee in Edinburgh. The first election to the reformed Parliament, with the newly enfranchised men voting in public at the City Cross, resulted in 4,056 votes for Jeffrey, 3,856 to Abercromby, and 1,519 to Blair, the Tory candidate. Accordingly, Jeffrey and Abercromby were duly elected as the city’s Members of Parliament.<sup>51</sup> From that election onwards, Edinburgh’s politics during the nineteenth century were overwhelmingly Whig/Liberal.

The politicians who had succeeded in bringing about electoral reform were regarded as radical but they were in effect a consortium of various interests. The initial supporters of the 1832 Act included the Duke of Argyll as well as leading lawyers like Cockburn. Such men were unwilling to extend the franchise further, linking it to property and status. Later, men like Duncan McLaren, who represented the new middle class, supported the extension of the urban franchise to most householders. After the Second Reform Act of 1868 and the Third Reform Act of

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<sup>50</sup> *Memoirs of Adam Black*, ed. by Alexander Nicolson (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1885) p.82

<sup>51</sup> *ibid.* p.83

1884, as the skilled working men became enfranchised, a coalition of the Liberals and the infant Labour Party acted as a pressure group to improve the position of the working classes.<sup>52</sup> This gradual extension of male suffrage made the local party organisations more democratic, especially in the larger burgh constituencies, which became the heartlands of radicalism.<sup>53</sup> The Liberals were increasingly identified with the Free Church and other religious dissenters in Scotland.

The extension of the franchise in Parliamentary elections could not be carried further without changes in local government and these were initiated almost immediately. In the opening session of 1833, Jeffrey, as Lord Advocate, piloted the Royal Burgh Reform Act, passed in 1834, through the new Parliament. This Act ended the old closed corporations of local government in the burghs and sought to bring them into line with modern conditions. Among the first members elected to the reformed Town Council was Adam Black, who was appointed city treasurer.

This office was something of a poisoned chalice, however, as the city was declared bankrupt in 1834, owing £400,000 to 'ordinary creditors' and £250,000 to the Treasury, who had advanced this sum for the development of Leith Harbour. The three years of his term as treasurer enabled Black to begin the process of stabilising the city's finances and settling the debts. The task was completed by his successor, Duncan McLaren. Black refused to stand for re-election to the Council in 1836 but was again a member three years later and was soon embroiled in controversy.

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<sup>52</sup> T. C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950* (London: Collins, 1986), pp. 240-241

<sup>53</sup> Alan Sykes, *The Rise and Fall of British Liberalism 1776-1988* (Harlow, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1997), pp. 83-84

In November 1840 the Lord Provost's term of office expired and some of Black's friends persuaded him to stand, considering that his record of public service hitherto made him the most suitable candidate. Against him was Sir James Forrest, also a Liberal, and member of the Church of Scotland, whose sole reason for standing was to stop Black, the dissenter. It was a bitterly fought contest. Black considered that not only his own rights, but those of all who were outside the Established Church were at stake. The majority of Edinburgh's citizens were probably in favour of Black but they did not have a vote. The election of the Lord Provost was entirely a matter for the Town Council. Most of the councillors then were Tories and members of the Church of Scotland. To elect a dissenter would create difficulties in a Church already facing the possibility of division. Black's election success depended on the votes of three new councillors, two of whom had been elected to support his nomination as Lord Provost. When the votes were counted, these two had voted against Black, leaving Forrest the victor with a majority of three. In thanking his fellow councillors, Forrest declared, "I disclaim from the bottom of my heart all hostility to Dissenters!"<sup>54</sup> His actions certainly belied these words. Despite this personal defeat, however, Black remained a town councillor.

The Disruption of the Church of Scotland in May 1843, which will be discussed in Chapter 2, altered the political as well as the ecclesiastical climate. In November that year Adam Black was elected unanimously as Lord Provost, the first non- Established Churchman to hold that office. He was re-elected in 1846 but resigned from the Council in 1848 before completing his second three-year term.

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<sup>54</sup> Nicolson, *Adam Black*, p.107

Black was also involved in national politics. A parliamentary by-election had occurred in 1839 with the award of a peerage to James Abercromby (Lord Dunfermline). Black had suggested that the Liberal committee approach the historian and essayist Thomas Babington Macaulay to be their candidate. He was the eldest son of Zachary Macaulay, a member of the strongly evangelical Clapham Sect, a network of politicians active in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Their main concern was the abolition of slavery but they also sought to alleviate the social problems and poverty caused by rapid industrialisation. Macaulay therefore came from a radical background. He accepted the committee's invitation and was elected as a Member of Parliament for Edinburgh on 4 June 1839.<sup>55</sup> Black acted as what we would now call his agent in the constituency, corresponding with him on matters affecting the city. Macaulay lost his seat in 1847, a defeat which Black regarded as

depriving Edinburgh of a representative who conferred dignity on the city, and was admired by the Senate and the country as a statesman, an orator and an honest man.<sup>56</sup>

One factor which contributed to Macaulay's defeat was the government's proposal to endow Maynooth College, a Roman Catholic seminary near Dublin, by increasing its grant and making it permanent, rather than, as hitherto, by voting for the grant annually in Parliament.<sup>57</sup> This was a move which Macaulay supported. In strongly Calvinist Edinburgh, still suffering the aftermath of the Disruption, the major opposition came from 'the more bigoted representatives of the Free Church

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<sup>55</sup> *ibid.* p. 104

<sup>56</sup> *ibid.* pp. 148-9

<sup>57</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom 1815-1914* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2008), p.125

and Dissent'.<sup>58</sup> Although a Congregationalist, Adam Black was also in favour of the endowment for Maynooth. He reasoned that as long as the state supported religious institutions financially, it was unjust to withdraw assistance from a particular one.

This stance had led him into difficulties with his own church, Argyle Square Chapel. One Sunday in March 1845, the minister, Lindsay Alexander, announced that a meeting would be held in the church to petition Parliament against the continuation of the grant to Maynooth. So Black was faced with the choice either to oppose his fellow members, or to abstain in any vote on the subject. He decided to attend the meeting to 'testify against the Maynooth cry'.<sup>59</sup> However, he had also prepared a series of resolutions as an amendment to his Church's proposal. While the resolutions affirmed their basic objection to state aid for particular 'theological tenets', Black considered that it was not expedient to petition Parliament at that time. His main reasons for this view were as follows:-

- 1<sup>st</sup>. The most zealous opponents of the grant are the parties who have appropriated to themselves the largest share of the public property which has been devoted to upholding ecclesiastical establishments, and whose object evidently is to rouse the zeal of Dissenters to co-operate with them in maintaining their present ascendancy.
- 2d. Because we conceive that every man is answerable to God alone for his religious belief, and that the State is not competent to decide what theological tenets ought to be adopted and maintained; therefore if we were to petition against this grant on the grounds that it was for the support of theological dogmas which we consider unscriptural and dangerous, we should thereby imply that the State has a right to judge what creeds are to be countenanced as true and Scriptural, and thus admit a principle subversive to religious liberty.
- [---]
- 6<sup>th</sup>. While we testify against all grants from the public funds for the promotion of any theological creed, we do not consider that we should be justified in joining in the

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<sup>58</sup> Nicolson, *Adam Black*, p.145

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.* p.128



clamour now raised against a particular sect, and *that* the sect which has suffered from the domination of a High Church party, who, while they take every opportunity of lording it over Dissenters, are now desirous to use them as tools for the accomplishment of their own purposes.<sup>60</sup>

To his amazement, his amendment was carried so that the petition was not sent.

Black's action was universally condemned by the other churches in Edinburgh, both Established and Dissenting, who were resolutely opposed to the Maynooth grant.

We can therefore understand why Black described Macaulay's defeat as 'one of the most painful of the public transactions in which I have been engaged'.<sup>61</sup>

An alternative reason for Macaulay's failure was put forward by Cockburn. He commented on the experience of a deputation to London 'to enlighten their representative':

The truth is, that Macaulay, all his admitted knowledge, talent, eloquence, and worth, is not popular. He cares more for his history than for the jobs of his constituents, and answers letters irregularly, and with a brevity deemed contemptuous; and above all other defects, he suffers severely from the vice of over-talking, and consequently of under-listening. [---] It was this and not Maynooth that gave Macaulay trouble.<sup>62</sup>

However, his opinion, and that of the Edinburgh electorate, changed in the general election of July 1852, when Macaulay was re-elected, having 'the support of the old Whig party, and of a large proportion of the more educated citizens'.<sup>63</sup>

Cockburn's description of the election is as follows:

Edinburgh relieved itself of part of its disgrace in rejecting Macaulay in 1847 by choosing him now on the current general election; and it was done in circumstances honourable both to us

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<sup>60</sup> *ibid.* footnote 1 pp. 128-130 (Italics as in original)

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.* p.144

<sup>62</sup> Cockburn, *Journal* II, pp.158-159

<sup>63</sup> Nicolson, *Adam Black*, p.163

and to him. He would not formally stand. He made no application – solicited no vote – wrote or uttered no address. He never appeared. He merely said privately that if elected he would act; and under all the disadvantages of absence, and of active canvassing by four present opponents, he was at the top of the poll.<sup>64</sup>

The votes for Macaulay's opponents were split on sectarian lines, Established Church, Free Church, and Dissenters all having their preferred candidates, giving the seat to Macaulay.<sup>65</sup> So atonement for his 1847 defeat was made, but he resigned on health grounds four years later.

Although he was over seventy years old and still running his publishing business, Adam Black was asked to stand for Macaulay's seat in the resulting by-election. His initial reaction was to refuse on the grounds that he was too old to begin a new career. However, learning that there was considerable support for his candidature, he agreed to accept the nomination. Black won the seat comfortably and served as a city Member of Parliament for nearly ten years, having been returned unopposed in the general election of 1859.

### **1.3.2 The Annuity Tax**

Perhaps the matter which gave Black most satisfaction in his parliamentary career was the abolition of the annuity tax, which was levied on all householders to support the Established Churches for which the Edinburgh Town Council was responsible.<sup>66</sup> The tax was hated by the majority of Edinburgh's citizens because members of the Court of Session, (the judiciary) who were among the wealthiest of

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<sup>64</sup> Cockburn, *Journal*, II, pp. 283-284

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.* p.284

<sup>66</sup> The annuity tax also applied to the burgh of Montrose in Angus.

her population, were exempt, as were householders who lived outwith the boundary but continued to attend the city churches. The tax was particularly resented by those who were not members of the Church of Scotland, as they had to support their own ministers and maintain their church buildings from their own voluntary contributions. Failure to pay the annuity tax meant a fine or imprisonment, a penalty which some dissenters, including ministers, willingly paid.

Sometimes the resistance could have farcical results. Among those prosecuted was William Tait, Black's brother-in-law, who, although a member of the Church of Scotland, was firmly against the annuity tax. He was sentenced to imprisonment in the Calton Jail, but spent it in the governor's house, where his friends visited him daily. On the fourth day, having made his protest, he agreed to pay the tax. When Tait left his 'prison' he was driven through the streets in an open carriage, escorted by members of the various trade guilds bearing their banners. He asked Adam to accompany him in the carriage but such a display was not for him. Black commented, 'Few men have acquired the glory of martyrdom at a cheaper rate'.<sup>67</sup>

With his experience as an Edinburgh Town Councillor proving invaluable, in the 1857-8 parliamentary session Black drew up a plan which, unlike earlier attempts, did not involve a charge on public funds. His bill passed the Commons but never reached the House of Lords, as Parliament was dissolved. The annuity tax became a personal issue around this time. He had instructed his son, James, to refuse payment on his receiving the annual assessment for the tax, writing to him:

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<sup>67</sup> Nicolson, *Adam Black*, p.85

I suppose we must let the law take its course. We cannot defend our conduct. [---] perhaps they will poined [impound] an Encyclopaedia which I would let them sell. They cannot put me in jail but they may confer that honour upon you.<sup>68</sup>

A few days later:

I am sorry you should feel so annoyed about being put in jail. You should have more pluck. What harm would a few hours in jail do you? You could go the length of the jail door and then pay and you would be a martyr for life at small expense. I only wish they would try their hands upon me.<sup>69</sup>

As already noted, in the 1859 general election Black retained his seat, so was able to support a different bill, which was successfully passed on 23 July 1860. The Annuity Tax Act gave the duties of the Town Council relating to the parish churches to a new body, the Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to whom the relevant church property was transferred. The Commissioners also had the power to levy pew rents for the maintenance of the church buildings. (The effects of pew-renting on church membership will be discussed in Chapter 7.)

Black's final day in the House of Commons was Friday, 18 June 1865. He did, however, contest the general election a month later but was defeated by his old friend, Duncan McLaren. However, as he was now aged eighty-one, Black was not disappointed. He was an old style Whig, while the much younger McLaren was an independent Liberal. We shall meet Black again in his role as deacon of Argyle Square Chapel, later Augustine Congregational Church (Chapter 5). It is to McLaren we now turn.

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<sup>68</sup> *ibid.* p.194 (Black had purchased the copyright of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1827 when its publisher, Constable, became bankrupt.)

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*

### 1.3.3 Duncan McLaren

Duncan McLaren has been described as an ‘energetic Free Churchman’.<sup>70</sup>

However, this must be understood in the English sense of the term (that is, one who was not a member of the Church of England) and should not be confused with the distinctive Scottish Presbyterian Free Church denomination. McLaren was in fact a member of the Bristo Street United Secession (from 1847 United Presbyterian) Church. This congregation, then under the ministry of James Peddie, was ‘the chief centre of Liberal dissent in Scotland’.<sup>71</sup> A draper by trade, McLaren’s shop was in the High Street opposite St. Giles and near the Royal Exchange. He was therefore well placed at the centre of civic life.

His political career closely paralleled that of Black. Both were among the new councillors elected to the reformed Town Council in 1834. McLaren also suffered because of his religious beliefs, his election having been opposed on the grounds that as a conscientious Voluntary, ‘he was not a proper person to elect to represent the ward in the Town Council’.<sup>72</sup> Despite this he was returned at the following election and succeeded his friend as city treasurer. A precedent having been established with Black, McLaren, another dissenter, was elected Lord Provost in 1851, the year he returned to the Town Council, from which he had retired in 1839. As McLaren had topped the poll with 2,925 votes, his fellow councillors ‘recognised the popular

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<sup>70</sup> G.C. Boase, rev. H.C.G. Matthew, ‘Duncan McLaren’ in *NDNB* 35, 725-6 (p.726)

<sup>71</sup> John Beveridge Mackie, *The Life and Work of Duncan McLaren*, 2 vols. (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1888) I, p.30 (A new biography, the first since Mackie’s, is Willis Pickard’s, *Member for Scotland : A Life of Duncan McLaren* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2011.)

<sup>72</sup> *ibid.* p. 92

verdict' and his nomination as civic head was carried, the other candidates having withdrawn.<sup>73</sup> He held office until 1854.

Having unsuccessfully contested an election in 1852, thirteen years later, as already noted, McLaren succeeded Adam Black as an Edinburgh Member of Parliament and was to represent the city for sixteen years from 1865. Because of the various causes McLaren opposed, he is said to have 'represented sectarian individualism at its narrowest.'<sup>74</sup> Despite this, he was regarded as the authority on Scottish affairs in the House of Commons in the period before the creation of the Scottish Office and the post of Secretary for Scotland in 1885.<sup>75</sup>

McLaren was ably supported in his radicalism by his third wife, the Quaker Priscilla Bright, whom he married in 1848. She was a sister of the English Liberal politician John Bright, who was a leading figure in steering the 1867 Reform Act through Parliament. In 1865 Gladstone had proposed Bright for cabinet office in Lord John Russell's government but was unsuccessful.<sup>76</sup> When Gladstone became leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister in 1868, Bright was persuaded to enter the cabinet in the junior post of President of the Board of Trade. He stipulated that his acceptance would depend on the government 'taking up the secret ballot'. Gladstone felt that Bright's presence in his cabinet as the first non-Anglican Radical to hold a cabinet post would be 'inescapably the seal of good faith between the new

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<sup>73</sup> *ibid.* p.297

<sup>74</sup> Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism*, p.87

<sup>75</sup> The Scottish Office remained in London until 1939 when St. Andrews House opened in Edinburgh. The Secretary for Scotland was allowed a seat in the Cabinet from 1892 and promoted to full Cabinet rank as Secretary of State in 1926.

<sup>76</sup> Miles Taylor, 'John Bright' in *NDNB* 2, pp. 626-635 (p.634)

ministry and the new electorate'.<sup>77</sup> McLaren therefore joined an extended family in which political agitation and radicalism were the norm.

Many of the causes for which Duncan and Priscilla McLaren campaigned centred on women's rights, a subject which had a long history in nineteenth century politics. Among the earliest publications to advocate these civil and political rights was Marion Reid's *A Plea for Women*, published in 1843 and 'the first to be written by a woman for women'.<sup>78</sup> Reid argued that possession of the vote was an essential first step to equality of opportunity in the ownership of property, education and employment. It is possible that the McLarens were familiar with Reid's work, as we may deduce from the support McLaren gave for John Stuart Mill's proposed amendment to the 1867 Reform Bill 'extending the parliamentary franchise to duly qualified women'.<sup>79</sup> Although Mill's amendment failed, McLaren remained a supporter of votes for women, while Priscilla was the first president and his daughter, Agnes, secretary of the Edinburgh Society for Women's Suffrage formed in 1870.<sup>80</sup>

McLaren also supported the role of women in the School Boards, established under the 1872 Education Act. He regarded schools as of particular concern to women, who should therefore share in their control. Provided they met the necessary property qualification and were ratepayers, women could vote to elect Board members, and also stand for election themselves. One of the first female members was Flora Stevenson, the Edinburgh educationalist. The role of the Churches in the

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<sup>77</sup> Richard Shannon, *Gladstone: God and Politics* (London: Continuum UK, 2007; pbk. 2008), p.216

<sup>78</sup> Susan Ferguson, 'Foreword' in *A Plea for Women* by Marion Reid (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1843 repr. Edinburgh: Polygon, 1988), pp. i-viii (p.i)

<sup>79</sup> Mackie, *Duncan McLaren*, II, p.102

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.* p.103

movement towards the education system introduced by that Act will be examined in Chapter 4.

An example of the McLarens' concern for female equality is in their support between 1869 and 1872 for the admission of women to Edinburgh University medical school. Sophia Jex-Blake had applied for admission in 1869 but the decision to admit her temporarily, after a prolonged legal battle, was reversed. In an essay published that year Jex-Blake stated her reasons for wishing to practice medicine, her primary object being to help other women. She compared her situation with that of Florence Nightingale, who was honoured for nursing soldiers in the Crimea, while people were shocked at the idea of female doctors, even to treat their own sex.

If a woman is to be applauded for facing the horrors of an army hospital when she believes that she can there do good work, why is she to be condemned as indelicate when she professes her willingness to go through an ordeal, certainly no greater, to obtain the education necessary for a medical practitioner? [---] It is indeed hard to see any reason of delicacy, at least, which can be adduced in favour of women as nurses, and against them as physicians.<sup>81</sup>

Following her set-back, Jex-Blake led a group of four who were allowed to study separately from the men. However, they could not complete their clinical training and take the medical examinations as they were refused access to the Royal Infirmary patients. Losing the subsequent court case on appeal, Jex-Blake finally obtained her MD degree in Dublin in 1877, which allowed her to register with the General Medical Council. In the following year, Jex-Blake, the first woman to do so in Scotland, established her medical practice in Manor Place, Edinburgh, which

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<sup>81</sup> Sophia Jex-Blake, 'Medicine as a Profession for Women' in *Women's Work and Women's Culture*, ed. by Josephine E. Butler (London: MacMillan & Co., 1869), pp.78-120 (pp.99-100)



proved to be successful.<sup>82</sup> It was not until 1884, however, that the Edinburgh Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons decided to admit women to their examinations.<sup>83</sup> Edinburgh Medical School did not accept women in the same classes as men until the First World War.<sup>84</sup> Jane Alice Craig, daughter of the Brighton Street minister Robert Craig, qualified as a doctor in the 1890s. It is possible that Jex-Blake influenced her choice of career.<sup>85</sup>

As had been the case with Black, McLaren remained a Member of Parliament until he was eighty-one years old, resigning on 20 January 1881, a week after his birthday. He died on 26 April 1886. His funeral service on 1 May was held in St. Giles and he was buried in St. Cuthbert's churchyard. Among the pall-bearers was John Bright.<sup>86</sup>

#### **1.3.4 Gladstone's Midlothian Campaigns**

Edinburgh politics came to greater national attention with Gladstone's Midlothian campaigns of 1879 to 1880. William Ewart Gladstone had resigned as leader of the Liberal party and Prime Minister in February 1874, following his government's defeat in the general election. In March 1878, at the age of sixty-eight, he announced that he would not seek re-election for Greenwich, the seat he then held. However, in January 1879 Gladstone accepted the invitation to contest

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<sup>82</sup> William W.J. Knox, *Lives of Scottish Women: Women and Scottish Society 1800-1900* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2006), pp.86-87

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.* p.88

<sup>84</sup> Helen M. Dingwall, *A History of Scottish Medicine* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), p. 203

<sup>85</sup> See Chapter 5 p. 283

<sup>86</sup> Mackie, *Duncan McLaren*, II, p.275

Midlothian, the county surrounding Edinburgh. This was a traditionally Tory seat held by the Earl of Dalkeith, heir to the Duke of Buccleuch. The Earl of Rosebery, Gladstone's "campaign manager", who had negotiated his candidacy with the Midlothian Liberals, directed operations from his estate of Dalmeny, outside Edinburgh. In the campaigns of 1879 and 1880 Gladstone 'captured the seat and astonished the political world'.<sup>87</sup>

William Gladstone was the son of the evangelical Liverpool merchant and Lowland Scot, Sir John Gladstone, who was a friend of Thomas Chalmers, one of the leading Scottish Presbyterian preachers of his generation. In the early 1830s John Gladstone had bought a house in Edinburgh which, in addition to their Kincardineshire estate of Fasque, became the family's Scottish base. As Chalmers had also moved to Edinburgh, the young William, despite the thirty-year age difference, grew close to him, particularly as both sought to restore the parish system in their respective national churches in a rapidly industrialising society.<sup>88</sup> The men's friendship, however, did not survive their basic disagreement over church government following William's espousal of High Anglicanism. Young Gladstone had become convinced that the Presbyterian Church of Scotland was no true church, since it did not include apostolic succession through bishops. A further Edinburgh connection was William Gladstone's election as the first Lord Rector of Edinburgh University from 1859 to 1865, when he was Member of Parliament for Oxford University. Gladstone was therefore familiar with Edinburgh, which became the

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<sup>87</sup> H.C.G. Matthew, 'William Ewart Gladstone' in *NDNB* 22, pp. 383-408 (p. 398)

<sup>88</sup> Stewart J. Brown, 'Gladstone, Chalmers and the Disruption of the Church of Scotland' in *Gladstone Centenary Essays*, ed. by David Bebbington and Roger Swift (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 11-28 (p. 17)

centre for his Midlothian campaign. His annual visits to the city while he was rector had enabled him to make several political friendships which formed the basis of this campaign.<sup>89</sup>

Rosebery had visited the Democratic Convention in New York in 1873 and drew on this experience to plan Gladstone's campaign in meticulous detail, even before the general election was called. Accompanied by his wife, Catherine, Gladstone travelled from Liverpool to Edinburgh by train on 24 November 1879, the local Liberal Associations having been instructed to lay on demonstrations along the route via the Border towns of Hawick, Galashiels, and Melrose. By the time the train reached Waverley Station a 'vast multitude' was waiting. Rosebery met them and the party travelled out of the city in

a procession of carriages, led by a single horseman and flanked by flamboyantly- dressed out- riders [...] 'the noise more than deafening, hundreds flying along by the side of the carriage, and the whole way to Dalmeny more or less lined with people and torches and fireworks and bonfires' [...] but all Tories seemed to have vanished.<sup>90</sup>

Similar crowds were a feature of the campaign wherever Gladstone spoke. As was customary at this time, his speeches were reported verbatim in the newspapers without any editorial comment. In the Midlothian campaign, Gladstone used the medium of the public meeting to gain access to 'the national debating society made possible by the popular press'.<sup>91</sup> (Despite opposition within the Cabinet, as Chancellor of the Exchequer Gladstone had removed the duties on paper in his

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<sup>89</sup> H.C.G. Matthew, *Gladstone 1809-1898* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p.129

<sup>90</sup> Robert Rhodes James, *Rosebery* (London: 1963, Orion Books 1995 reprint), pp. 97-98 (Quotation from Lucy Masterton, *Mary Gladstone*, p.178)

<sup>91</sup> Matthew, *Gladstone* p. 298

budgets of 1861 and 1862.<sup>92</sup> The effect was to reduce the cost of newspapers and periodicals dramatically, paving the way for their mass-circulation by bringing them within reach of the working classes, who were also becoming more literate with introduction of compulsory education in the 1870s.)

Gladstone's employment of the publicity generated by his Midlothian campaign was masterly. In addition to the daily reports, those from *The Scotsman*, covering November to December 1879, were collected and published under the auspices of the East and North of Scotland Liberal Association, the speeches having been revised by Gladstone himself.<sup>93</sup> In this respect, therefore, his political success owed much to this greater accessibility of the press, a direct result of his removal of what was often regarded as a tax on knowledge.

His use of the press perhaps also was derived from the publicity given to the revivalist campaigns of the Americans Moody and Sankey (to be discussed in Chapter 3). Gladstone himself had attended at least one of their London meetings in 1875, where he 'entered heartily into the service' and, at the close, was 'presented' to Moody.<sup>94</sup> In Gladstone's support for Moody and Sankey we can see echoes of his youthful evangelicalism, and he maintained a living faith in a personal God to the end of his life. Although there is no reference to the revival campaigns in Gladstone's published addresses, it is likely that those who flocked to hear him included many who, a few years earlier, had been amongst Moody's eager listeners.

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<sup>92</sup> *ibid.* pp.113-114

<sup>93</sup> W.E. Gladstone, *Political Speeches in Scotland November and December 1879* (London: W. Ridgway, 1879; repr. Victorian Library Edition (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1971), original title page facsimile

<sup>94</sup> W. R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (London: Morgan and Scott, n.d.), p. 217

Gladstone was renowned for his oratory, as the following description shows:

He never cultivated the virtue of brevity. But in him this was no defect, for so sweet and silvern was his speech that his hearers regretted when the stream ceased to flow.<sup>95</sup>

It is also important to remember that the late nineteenth century was still a period when church-going was the norm. Particularly in Presbyterian Scotland, families, including the children, were well used to the oratorical skills of their ministers, with sermons lasting at least an hour and often longer. Gladstone's speeches, therefore, would have caused no hardship to his audiences. Gladstone made use of this background, which to some extent he shared, crafting his addresses 'into the natural habits and expectations of a churchgoing society' and on at least one occasion speaking from the pulpit.<sup>96</sup>

Although not part of the Midlothian constituency, the meetings he addressed in the city of Edinburgh had the greatest impact because of the large crowds they attracted. However, very few of those who listened would have been eligible to vote for him since the city had its own Members of Parliament and the Midlothian electorate consisted of only 3,260 registered voters.<sup>97</sup> As the constituency was predominantly rural with small mining villages, the miners and agricultural workers did not benefit from the 1868 extension of the franchise, which considerably increased the urban electorate.

Despite the fact that they were as yet unenfranchised, women attended Gladstone's meetings in large numbers. In this they were encouraged by the presence

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<sup>95</sup> W.T Stead, *Gladstone 1808-1898: A Character Sketch* (London: "Review of Reviews" Office, [1898]), p.16

<sup>96</sup> Matthew, *Gladstone* p.301

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.* p.298

of Mrs. Gladstone, who ‘broke precedent’ by sitting beside her husband on the platform, rather than in the section of the hall reserved for ladies.<sup>98</sup> As the first political wife to support her husband in this way, although she never addressed a meeting, Catherine Gladstone is the forerunner of the modern wives who take an active part in their husbands’ election campaigns.

Two meetings on Saturday 29 November were particularly notable. The first was held in Edinburgh’s Corn Exchange, which had been built in 1849 in the Grassmarket, and was ‘the scene of many public festivals’.<sup>99</sup> Gladstone’s meeting attracted ‘about 4,700 persons assembled from all parts of the country’ representing over one hundred local Liberal associations.<sup>100</sup> Immediately after this, at the Waverley Market, Gladstone addressed a vast gathering of over 20,000, which ‘in number has never been approached, at least within the walls of any building in Scotland’.<sup>101</sup> Unlike the earlier meeting, the assembly at the Waverley Market was intended for the ‘working men of Edinburgh, Leith and the district’ who had presented Gladstone with an address on behalf of the working class.<sup>102</sup> The proceedings, during which between sixty and seventy deputations presented addresses, were summed up as ‘one of the most remarkable political gatherings ever witnessed in this country’.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> *ibid.* p.310

<sup>99</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh* II, p.234

<sup>100</sup> Gladstone, *Political Speeches*, p.130

<sup>101</sup> *ibid.* p.158

<sup>102</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *ibid.* p.163

The second Midlothian campaign began in March 1880, following the resignation of the Tory government led by Benjamin Disraeli, who had been created Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876. Such was the rivalry between the two men that Gladstone's campaign has been called 'the event of the election'.<sup>104</sup> His speeches were personal indictments against Disraeli's system of government, particularly his aggressive foreign policy. He considered 'Beaconsfieldism', as he called it, to be undermining the Christian values which the British state had a duty to uphold.

Polls opened on 30 March but at that time constituencies voted on different days during the election period. Voting in Midlothian took place on 5 April, by which date the earlier results were known. Although the Ballot Act of 1872 had made voting secret, the dread of eviction if a tenant voted against his landlord's wishes was deeply engrained in Scottish political life, especially in rural areas, and in this case the landlord was the powerful Duke of Buccleuch, who has been described as

a ferocious Tory, a dominant and feared landowner in the Lowlands and notorious for turning the screw on his tenants at election time.<sup>105</sup>

Buccleuch's character, and the fact that, as noted above, his heir was the Tory candidate, may explain Gladstone's narrow majority of 211 (1,579 to Gladstone, 1,368 for Dalkeith).<sup>106</sup> Gladstone saw his personal victory, and the return of the Liberals to power with a majority of over forty seats, as the result of the 'guiding hand of God'.<sup>107</sup> This Liberal electoral triumph meant that Gladstone became Prime

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<sup>104</sup> Richard Aldous, *The Lion and the Unicorn: Gladstone vs Disraeli* (London: Hutchinson, 2006), p. 302

<sup>105</sup> Matthew, *Gladstone*, p. 292

<sup>106</sup> Rhodes James, *Rosebery*, p. 104

<sup>107</sup> Shannon, *Gladstone*, p. 314

Minister for the second time, despite the reluctance of Queen Victoria, who found the situation ‘hardly possible to believe’.<sup>108</sup> As noted below, Gladstone was to remain as Midlothian’s Member of Parliament until 1895, retiring at the age of eighty-five.

Why were the Whigs/ Liberals so successful in Edinburgh, and indeed in Scottish politics generally, after 1832? For many they were seen as the party of progress, while the Tories were

tainted with the ‘Old Corruption’ of the period of 50 years before 1832, when they had maintained themselves in office by blatant political chicanery and manipulation.<sup>109</sup>

Tensions between church and state also benefited the Liberals after the evangelical wing of the Church of Scotland re-opened the question of patronage. As we shall see in Chapter 2, this Ten Years’ Conflict, culminating in the Disruption of 1843, led to the formation of the Free Church. The support of Free Churchmen ‘was crucial to Lowland Liberalism.’<sup>110</sup> Although the second Reform Act of 1868 was a Conservative measure, the newly enfranchised working men gave their votes to the Liberals in ‘overwhelming numbers’, seeing that party as representing the Scottish values of ‘respectability, self-improvement, sobriety and education’.<sup>111</sup>

The dominance of the Liberals began to disintegrate in the 1880s when increasing tensions between urban and rural interests caused friction in the party. These came to a head when Gladstone tackled the problem of Ireland. His introduction of a Home Rule Bill in April 1886 led to a split as those who opposed

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<sup>108</sup> *ibid.* p.317

<sup>109</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, p. 282

<sup>110</sup> Clyde Binfield, ‘Networking through Sound Establishments: How Gladstone Could Make Dissenting Sense’, in *Centenary Essays*, pp. 134-162 (p.138)

<sup>111</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, p.285



the measure, mainly landowners like the Duke of Argyll and Irish Protestants who equated 'Home Rule with Rome Rule', formed the Liberal-Unionist Party (i.e. to uphold the union with Ireland).

This anti-Irish nationalism was evident when Charles Stewart Parnell, the Irish MP, was proposed for the freedom of Edinburgh during a visit to the city in 1889. In a plebiscite 17,808 citizens voted against the proposal with only 3,197 in favour. The Town Council, however, were twenty-two in favour with sixteen against, enabling the presentation to proceed. The Lord Provost refused to attend the ceremony, where the Council representation was barely quorate.<sup>112</sup> After Parnell's involvement in a scandalous divorce case in 1890, his name was removed from the burgess roll 'by unanimous resolution of the Town Council.'<sup>113</sup>

An additional dimension in Scotland was the feeling that if Ireland received Home Rule so should Scotland. In 1888 Keir Hardie, a Lanarkshire miner, had played a leading role in the formation of the Scottish Labour Party, since it was felt that the Liberals no longer represented the concerns of the ordinary working man. Hardie was also influential in the formation of the Independent Labour Party in 1893. Both these parties included Scottish Home Rule in their election platform and merged two years later.<sup>114</sup> Among the ILP members was James Connolly, son of an Irish immigrant family born in Edinburgh's Cowgate, the poorest district of the city. Given this background, he came to support Irish Nationalism, moving to Ireland in

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<sup>112</sup> Gilbert, *Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century*, pp.170-171

<sup>113</sup> *ibid* p. 296

<sup>114</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, p.300

1896. His involvement in the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin led to his execution.<sup>115</sup>

These twin pressures of unionism on the one hand and nationalism on the other, led to a decline in Gladstone's support as Prime Minister. In his final general election as party leader (1892) his majority in Midlothian was greatly reduced, 690 votes as compared with 4,631 in 1885.<sup>116</sup> Gladstone finally retired from office in 1894, chairing his last cabinet meeting in the morning of 1 March and making his final speech in the House of Commons that afternoon, resigning as Prime Minister two days later at the end of the parliamentary session.<sup>117</sup> He was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Rosebery, the architect of his early triumph in Midlothian. Gladstone, however, retained his seat in the House of Commons until the general election of July 1895, following the collapse of Rosebery's administration.

## 1.4 Contrasting Cultures

During the nineteenth century an ideology of "separate spheres" had developed with regard to appropriate behaviour for men and women, particularly for the middle class. The male role was to work to provide for the family, while the female was to look after the home and comfort of all those in it. As well as fulfilling the roles of dutiful wife and caring mother, the responsibilities of the lady also extended to setting a moral example to her servants and to the poor families she might visit, so transmitting to those with whom she came into contact the watchwords of Victorianism, namely the gospel of work, seriousness of character, respectability and

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<sup>115</sup> Ruth Dudley Edwards, 'James Connolly' in *NDNB* 12, pp. 972-973

<sup>116</sup> Rhodes James, *Rosebery*, p. 240

<sup>117</sup> Matthew, *Gladstone* p. 606

self-help.<sup>118</sup> However, even within the middle-class hierarchy, there was a considerable difference in status between a young unmarried girl, a spinster, a married woman, with or without children, and a widow. Ladies were also given a philanthropic role through the churches in work among children or the poorer members of society, situations which confirmed their role as carers.

For the middle-class male the Protestant work ethic was very important in his role as family provider. This responsibility was compounded by the high level of spinsterhood in Scotland as compared with England. In 1861, 20% of women remained unmarried by age fifty, while in England the figure was only 10%.<sup>119</sup> The key to marriage rates lies in the balance between men and women of marriageable age (the sex ratio). In nineteenth-century Scotland women always outnumbered men, partly because of the higher levels of male mortality. The male emigration rate, both within Scotland and abroad, was also significant, although this varied from area to area.<sup>120</sup> Furthermore, in proportion to their population share, larger numbers of Scots served in the armed forces of the United Kingdom. Accordingly Scottish women would have had less opportunity for marriage than their sisters in England. Taking account of children and other dependent relatives, therefore, the middle-class man worked long hours to support them when reliance on the somewhat limited public welfare provision was looked upon with shame.

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<sup>118</sup> Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement 1783-1867* (London: 1959, Longmans 1978 reprint), p. 450

<sup>119</sup> R. A. Houston, 'The Demographic Regime', in *People and Society in Scotland Vol. I, 1760-1830*, ed. by T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1988), pp.9-26 (p.20)

<sup>120</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, pp.523-524

The skilled working class tended to emulate the behaviour of those immediately above them socially, since they were in more regular and better paid employment. Accordingly, they could save to buy “artisans’ houses” or afford the higher rents these properties attracted. In this way they achieved the much valued “respectability” in their own view and that of others. These men were employed mainly in Edinburgh’s manufacturing industries, predominantly small-scale service industries like furniture-making, brass-founding, brewing and distilling. The staple industry was printing, together with the allied trades of bookbinding and type-founding. In 1861 these trades employed some 3,000 people.<sup>121</sup> Such men were active in the Trade Union movement which developed during the nineteenth century. This political involvement for better working conditions also led to educational opportunities for the men, as the trades unions formed circulating libraries and arranged lectures on literary and scientific subjects. In this, they were similar to the learned societies and debating clubs frequented by the middle classes.

Here, church attendance played a role. It was seen as a means of self-improvement and so social advancement. Sunday Schools reinforced ‘orderliness, punctuality, industry and cleanliness’.<sup>122</sup> The working-class wife, too, was not supposed to work outside the home, since to do so would show that her husband could not provide for the family. Where the husband was unskilled, his wage was too low to support the family or his employment was insecure. Then his wife was forced to take menial

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<sup>121</sup> Ian Macdougall, ed. *The Minutes of Edinburgh Trades Council 1859-1873* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable Ltd., 1968), p. xvi

<sup>122</sup> F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana, 1988), p.141

work to provide for them. In such circumstances the reality was far different from the ideal.

For women the major source of employment in Edinburgh was domestic service. Its importance can be seen from the following analysis of the number of female domestic servants in the eight principal towns taken from the census reports for 1871.<sup>123</sup>

**Level of Female Domestic Service**

Town	No. of Servants	% of Population
Edinburgh	17,083	8.50%
Aberdeen	4,410	5.91%
Perth	1,115	4.22%
Leith	1,771	3.81%
Greenock	1,982	3.31%
Glasgow	15,438	3.23%
Dundee	2,553	2.11%
Paisley	941	1.95%

These figures also corroborate the statistics on the size of houses included in the census, indicating the relative prosperity of these towns and cities. In Edinburgh 22% of the population lived in houses with ‘upwards of four rooms’, while in Glasgow, Paisley and Dundee between 5.5% and 6.5% did so.<sup>124</sup> Accordingly, Edinburgh’s predominately professional, rather than industrial, economy meant that a higher proportion of her population could employ servants.

While the middle-class lady encouraged her servants to attend church, this did not necessarily mean the church in which she herself worshipped. It appears,

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<sup>123</sup> Census Reports, 1871 Vol.I, p.xli Table XXIV

<sup>124</sup> *ibid.* p.xlii

therefore, that the rigid divisions of Victorian society permeated some of the churches, but was this true of all denominations? This question will be considered in Chapter 5 with the analysis of church membership.

Social divisions were also reflected in leisure activities. George Street in the New Town was the centre for “dancing assemblies” held for charity in the Assembly Rooms which opened in 1786 to replace Assembly Close off the High Street. Because of their charitable purpose, these assemblies were very select, open only to the elite of Edinburgh Society.<sup>125</sup> The first licensed theatre in Scotland was the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1768 by the licensee, David Ross, to whom royal letters patent were granted through a clause introduced into the legislation permitting the building of the New Town.<sup>126</sup> The theatre was originally situated near the appropriately named Shakespeare Square until the site was acquired by the government in 1859 for the new Post Office, at the junction of North Bridge and Waterloo Place. Among the stars to appear on its stage was Sarah Siddons. In 1785 her performances caused such a sensation that the General Assembly, then meeting in the city, ‘were (*sic*) compelled to arrange their meetings with reference to the appearance of Mrs. Siddons’.<sup>127</sup> The Theatre Royal was moved to the top of Leith Walk, approximately where St. Mary’s Roman Catholic Cathedral now stands. Theatre in Edinburgh became more established towards the end of the nineteenth century with the opening of the Lyceum in 1883. The first to play there was Henry Irving’s Lyceum Company from London as Irving

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<sup>125</sup> Donald Campbell, *Edinburgh : A cultural and literary history* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2003), p. 90

<sup>126</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, I, p.341

<sup>127</sup> *ibid.* p. 345

had contributed £1,000 towards the cost of the building.<sup>128</sup> Music hall also came to the fore with the opening of the Empire Palace Theatre of Varieties in November 1892.<sup>129</sup>

Edinburgh is a city well known for its writers. Particularly close in the nineteenth century was the connection between literature and the practice of law, most notably in Sir Walter Scott, who romanticised Scottish history from his high Tory viewpoint. On the opposite side politically was the radical Francis Jeffrey who, with a group of friends in 1802, founded the *Edinburgh Review* as a vehicle for publicising the philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment and Whig politics. Jeffrey was its first editor. As its publication began in wartime, its political stance was guarded at first. The *Review* became one of the most influential political magazines of the day. Among its regular contributors was Thomas Babington Macaulay, who, as noted above, became a Member of Parliament for Edinburgh. His *Review* essays, especially that on Milton published in August 1825, made him famous. Henry Cockburn, too, given his friendship with Jeffrey, was a leading contributor to the journal.

A more popular writer was Robert Louis Stevenson, born in 1850, the son of Thomas Stevenson, a civil engineer whose speciality was building lighthouses. When the young Stevenson attended Edinburgh University, originally studying engineering, the family stayed at 17 Heriot Row, one of the most elegant of the New Town terraces. In contrast to this, Stevenson frequented the dark side of Edinburgh life,

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<sup>128</sup> Campbell, *Edinburgh*, p. 139

<sup>129</sup> Gilbert, *Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 174

‘cheap public houses and brothels’<sup>130</sup> Stevenson quarrelled with his father over his wish to write, giving up his engineering studies. Nor did his son’s bohemian lifestyle endear him to the strict Presbyterian Thomas Stevenson. Robert’s switch to law was an attempt at compromise but he never practiced. Ill health forced him to leave the city of his birth but its influence pervaded his writing to the end of his life. Although set in London, *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) contrasts the outwardly respectable, prosperous side of Edinburgh society with its underbelly of poverty and vice. The hero/anti-hero illustrates, too, the dual nature of man. Good and evil are in violent opposition until, in Jekyll’s case, his dark side, Hyde, takes control. Stevenson’s final unfinished work, *Weir of Hermiston* (1894) is the story of conflict between a father, the eponymous judge, and his son. Could Stevenson have been reflecting on his own earlier struggles against his father?

## Conclusion

Thus we have a picture of Edinburgh in the nineteenth century, in some respects a divided city on social, economic and political lines, not one Edinburgh but two. The population had expanded from almost 260,000 in 1851 to nearly 500,000 by 1901. Much of this growth was caused by improvements in health and social conditions, so that life expectancy increased. Another factor was immigration from the neighbouring small towns and, to a lesser extent, the Highlands and Ireland as people sought economic security. Yet at the same time Scotland was losing highly skilled people as they emigrated, especially to Canada and the United States of

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<sup>130</sup> Ernest Mehew, ‘Robert Louis Stevenson’, in *NDNB* 52, pp. 597-605 (p.598)



America. Almost two million left the country between 1830 and 1914.<sup>131</sup> In this the churches played a part as opportunities overseas were advertised in denominational magazines.

The contrasting life styles of the middle-and upper classes have been indicated earlier. To some extent they lived in separate worlds, only coming into contact as employer and employee. There was yet a dark side as the unskilled suffered most from poor housing and unemployment when there was little state assistance. Philanthropy brought these two worlds together where the churches, as we shall see in Chapter 4, sought to bridge the divide.

In Chapter 2 we examine the various schisms in Scottish Presbyterianism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as they affected Edinburgh churches. As the examples of Black and McLaren show, there was a close relationship between political radicalism and religious dissent. The later attempts at re-union, culminating in the formation of the United Free Church in 1900, are also considered. With the addition of denominations outwith Presbyterianism the diversity of Edinburgh church life in the period 1850 to 1905 is apparent. Whether this diversity is reflected in the social composition of church membership will form a major part of my thesis.

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<sup>131</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, p.263

## **CHAPTER 2: SCHISM AND DENOMINATIONALISM**

### **Introduction**

In the previous chapter we examined the place, people and politics of Edinburgh in the second half of the nineteenth century, setting them in their social context. Here we will consider historically the various Christian denominations in Edinburgh, taking particular account of the divisions and reunions among Scottish Presbyterianism. As a result of the re-awakening of evangelical Christianity, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the introduction and growth of independent, voluntary churches with their emphasis on the separation of church and state. This development, too, will be examined, as background to the individual case studies presented in Chapter 5.

The Protestant Reformation of the Scottish Church from 1560 onwards gradually created a Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government, which was legally established by 1690. The basic unit was the parish church ruled by minister and elders (the kirk session). The parish churches were grouped into larger units (presbyteries) and above these were the synods consisting of several adjoining presbyteries. The General Assembly, the highest church court, met each year, usually in May. It consisted of representative ministers and elders (commissioners) appointed from the whole country. The Assembly was presided over by an elected moderator who held office for one year. Each parish minister had equal status, with none having jurisdiction over another. Particularly after the 1707 Union of Parliaments, the General Assembly assumed a quasi-governmental function, with authority to pass its own acts for church government. In its ideal, the Church of

Scotland was the national state church to which all belonged by virtue of the fact that they were born and lived in Scotland.

## **2.1 Patronage and a Church Divided**

However, the Church of Scotland did not remain a united church. During the eighteenth century there were various schisms, largely over the question of patronage, or the hereditary right of an individual or corporate body, such as a college or burgh council, to appoint the parish minister. In the pre-Reformation church, the principal landowners in a parish, or heritors, were responsible for providing and maintaining the church buildings and environs, including the manse. While the Reformers continued the practice, as early as the Second Book of Discipline (1578) the patron's right to present the parish minister was constrained, so that the will of the people was paramount.

None might be intruded upon any congregation, either by the prince, or any inferior person, without lawful election and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed; as the practice of the apostolical and primitive kirk and good order craved.<sup>1</sup>

The rights of ecclesiastical patronage could be passed on through family inheritance. It was also possible to sell the right of patronage to someone else, in which case it was not necessary for the new patron to have a residential connection with the parish. In royal burghs the duty to present a minister rested jointly with the magistrates, town councils and kirk sessions. In these circumstances the right of patronage could not be disposed of to another person.

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Andrew Thomson, 'Historical Sketches of the Origin of the Secession Church' in *United Presbyterian Fathers: A History of the Secession and Relief Churches*, (Edinburgh: A Fullerton and Co. 1848), pp. 1-178 (p.8)

The religious settlement of 1690 had abolished patronage. Instead, where a charge was vacant, the heritors and the church elders could nominate candidates for congregational approval, with the final decision to be taken by the presbytery in cases of disagreement. Following a change of government in Westminster from Whig to Tory, patronage, which prevented the participation of kirk sessions and congregations in selecting their ministers, was reintroduced by the United Kingdom Parliament in 1712, 'as part of the larger package of inducements to the Scottish landed classes to forsake the Jacobite cause'.<sup>2</sup> However, as many of the landowners were Episcopalian, they would be more likely to look to the restoration of the legitimate Stewart line, since James, the 'Old Pretender', son of the deposed James VII and II, as a Roman Catholic, would be expected to favour the Episcopalian form of church government. In the same year the Toleration Act was passed, which granted freedom of worship to Scottish Episcopalians on condition that they prayed for the reigning monarch and used the English liturgy in their services. In conjunction, these Acts suggest 'a general campaign against Presbyterians in both England and Scotland by high Anglicans in the Tory party'.<sup>3</sup>

Parliament's failure to consult the Church of Scotland before reintroducing patronage led many to believe that it was a move towards conformity with the Church of England.<sup>4</sup> In the Church of Scotland's view this was a threat to its security safeguarded by the 1706 *Act for securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government within the Kingdom of Scotland*, one of the last

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<sup>2</sup> Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society*, p. 18

<sup>3</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, p.18

<sup>4</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland and Scotland 1801-1846*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001), pp. 29-30

acts of the independent Scottish Parliament, which was inserted into the Treaty of Union. Such was the concern at this disregard of the Treaty, which the General Assembly saw as 'contrary to our Christian constitution' that they made an immediate protest, suspecting that the Patronage Act had been framed 'on design to weaken and undermine the Presbyterian establishment'.<sup>5</sup>

The continuing unpopularity of the Act meant that each year subsequently, until 1784, the General Assembly petitioned Parliament for its repeal. However, repeal did not take place until 1874 and, as will be seen later, contributed to the reunion of most Presbyterian Churches. In the meantime the Church was beset with disputed ecclesiastical settlements, especially from about 1730, when a more confident landed class 'saw in patronage a means to increase their local influence and status', so became more assertive in exercising their rights.<sup>6</sup> While patronage had worked best where parishioners and patrons agreed with the presentation, there was now increasing dissent, as congregations did not always agree with the patrons' choice of minister.

A further difficulty occurred where the patron failed to present someone to the vacant charge within six months, as required by the laws of the church. In such cases responsibility was devolved to the presbytery in whose bounds the vacant charge lay. In an attempt to clarify who, patron or presbytery, had the final say in a ministerial appointment, the General Assembly of 1731 introduced an overture

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<sup>5</sup> G. D. Henderson, *Heritage: A Study of the Disruption* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd Ltd 1943), p. 34

<sup>6</sup> Stewart J. Brown, 'William Robertson (1721-1793) and the Scottish Enlightenment' in *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire* ed. by Stewart J. Brown, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997), pp. 7-35 (p.11)

to the following effect:

*‘where patrons might neglect or decline to exercise their right of presentation, the minister should be chosen by a majority of the heritors and elders if Protestant’*

The ostensible reason of this overture was the promotion of uniformity and peace.<sup>7</sup>

According to the rules of the Church, the overture was remitted to presbyteries to consider and report to the next Assembly. Only when the majority of presbyteries had sanctioned it could an overture become law. Following detailed consideration by the presbyteries, their reports were brought to the 1732 Assembly. The result of the vote was as follows: six recommended adoption of the overture; twelve could only approve if it was materially altered; while thirty-one ‘expressed their entire and unqualified disapprobation’.<sup>8</sup> Despite this overwhelming opposition, the change was confirmed by an Act of Assembly that year.

Among those who spoke against the Act was Ebenezer Erskine, a committed evangelical, incumbent of a recently created third charge in Stirling, who earlier had been the victim in a disputed ministerial settlement. He opposed the Act on the ground that the congregation would lose their right to be involved in choosing a minister. In his speech to Assembly, Erskine asked that his dissent be recorded in the minutes but this was refused.<sup>9</sup> In October 1732 he preached ‘a blistering sermon’ against the new Act, for which action he was rebuked by the Synod, a decision which the 1733 Assembly upheld. Along with three other ministers, Erskine submitted a

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<sup>7</sup> Thomson, *Secession Church*, pp.36-37 (Italics and quotation marks as in original)

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* p.38

<sup>9</sup> Kenneth Roxburgh, *Thomas Gillespie and the Origins of the Relief Church in Eighteenth Century Scotland*, (Bern: Peter Lang, 1999), p.11

formal protest which was refused and the four were suspended from their charges.<sup>10</sup>

As we shall see below, the Assembly's actions regarding the dissenting ministers resulted in disunity among Scottish Presbyterians, instead of the peace which the 1731 overture was intended to achieve.

### **2.1.1 The Moderate Party**

These disagreements over patronage reflected the growing division among Church of Scotland ministers and elders into the Moderate and Evangelical (or Popular) parties. The Moderates, both ministers and elders, were dominant in the Assembly from the 1750s to the early 1830s, although they did not attract much support in the Church as a whole. This Moderate control was due to the preponderance of the social elite among the ruling elders. Following the Enlightenment ideal of moderation and politeness in religious belief, they adopted a refined style, 'philosophizing rather than remonstrance (*sic*) in pulpit discourse'.<sup>11</sup> They also sought to move the Church 'from the doctrinaire Calvinism of the seventeenth century towards a more tolerant world-affirming faith'.<sup>12</sup> Particularly among the landed proprietors, in effect those responsible for appointing the parish ministers, the manners and mores of the English upper classes became fashionable. It has been suggested that patronage for the Moderates 'became a device to ensure the political correctness of the clergy and of the general assembly'.<sup>13</sup> This judgement, however, is a construct of the late twentieth century, where the term

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid.* pp.11-12

<sup>11</sup> Callum G. Brown, *Religion in Scotland*, p.16

<sup>12</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *National Churches*, p.59

<sup>13</sup> Callum G. Brown, *Religion in Scotland*, p.30

‘political correctness’ has become something of a byword for interference in daily lives. As will be seen from the example of William Robertson, the Moderates saw that their duty was to provide an educated ministry for the general improvement of society. This could only be accomplished through the Church’s support for patronage, which, in any case, was the law of the land. In exercising patronage, they would appoint ministers who were

men of refinement, good manners, and intellectual accomplishments, who would exercise a civilizing influence on their parishioners.<sup>14</sup>

### **2.1.2 William Robertson**

The leader of the Moderates was William Robertson, who, as the young minister of the rural parish of Gladsmuir, near Edinburgh, had attended his first General Assembly as a commissioner in 1751. In a speech at that Assembly, Robertson and his friend, another young minister, John Home, spoke out in a debate involving a patronage case in the Presbytery of Linlithgow. For two years the Presbytery had defied the Assembly’s instructions to ordain a minister to the parish of Torphichen within its jurisdiction. Robertson and Home proposed that Linlithgow should be dealt with in strict accordance with the law and the intransigent ministers disciplined. For a new commissioner to speak was unheard of. However, although their proposal was defeated, the Assembly was ‘most impressed with the extraordinary powers of argument and eloquence exhibited by Robertson’ and he came to the attention of the political leaders, especially the Duke of Argyll.<sup>15</sup> This

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<sup>14</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *National Churches*, p. 60

<sup>15</sup> Stewart J. Brown, ‘William Robertson’, p.13



speech was the first indication of Robertson's insistence that the authority of the General Assembly was paramount in order to preserve discipline within the Church.

In April 1752, a month before the Assembly met, a group of ministers published in the *Scots Magazine* a 'statement of protest' against the Church's leniency over disputed patronage cases and as a result the Assembly agreed that insubordination by the lower courts would no longer be tolerated. Although not a member of Assembly, Robertson was known to be the instigator of the change of policy. With a group of his friends, he formed what became known as the 'Moderate party' whose purpose was to ensure that good order within the Church and the authority of its General Assembly were maintained.<sup>16</sup> As we shall see, however, this came at a price.

Another reason for Robertson's advocacy of patronage was his desire for an educated ministry. Because patrons, such as the landed gentry or burgh councillors, were from the social elite, they were more likely to choose as ministers like-minded candidates who appreciated literature and the arts. Robertson himself was a prime example of this type of minister, becoming one of the most distinguished historians of his generation.

In 1758 Robertson was inducted to the Edinburgh charge of Lady Yester's and shortly after to Old Greyfriars. His most influential position, however, came in 1762 when he was appointed Principal of Edinburgh University, combining this post with his parish ministry. As Principal he represented the University in the General Assembly each year, serving as Moderator from 1763 to 1764. For almost twenty

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<sup>16</sup> *ibid.* pp. 13-14

years Robertson ‘dominated the administration of the Scottish religious and educational establishment’.<sup>17</sup> In 1780 he retired from participation in the affairs of the Church, declining to give his reasons for doing so. Scottish affairs, as we saw in Chapter 1, increasingly came to be controlled by Henry Dundas. This included management of church patronage on behalf of the Crown where the king was patron.

So Robertson’s influence in the Church of Scotland gradually waned. However, his lasting legacy remains the changes he brought to the University, including the building of what is now Old College, described in the previous chapter. With this new edifice, and in the improvements he made to its governance and standards of scholarship, Edinburgh’s University ‘was transformed from a modest town college into a leading European university’.<sup>18</sup> Robertson died on 4 June 1793 at the age of seventy-one. He was buried in Greyfriars churchyard.

### **2.1.3 The Evangelical or Popular Party**

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Evangelicals grew in prominence, influenced, as we shall see in Chapter 3, by the preaching of the Wesleys and George Whitefield. A further factor was the growth of urbanisation as the economy moved from an agricultural to an industrial base. Because support for the Evangelicals within the Church of Scotland came from the middle classes in these growing towns, their numbers among the representative church elders within the Assembly increased. This was particularly evident with the Burgh Reform Act of 1834, described in the previous chapter, as the new town councils could also send

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<sup>17</sup> *ibid.* p.23

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.* p. 24

representatives. From that year the Moderates lost control of the General Assembly, although their support among the ordinary church members was never as great as their influence warranted.

## **2.2 Early Secessions from the Church of Scotland**

The suspension of Ebenezer Erskine and three others from the Church of Scotland ministry because of their opposition to the 1732 Act of Assembly was noted above. Nevertheless the four remained in their churches and continued to preach. At the end of 1733, under Erskine's leadership, they constituted themselves into the Associate Presbytery. Shortly after, they were joined by four other ministers and in 1740 all were expelled from the Church of Scotland.<sup>19</sup> Within a few years there were over twenty Secession ministers and sufficient congregations throughout Scotland to enable the Associate Synod of three presbyteries to be formed. These Secession churches, the first to break away from the Established Church,

became a formidable body of dissent in Scotland, rigidly adhering to the seventeenth century covenanting tradition and the standards of the Westminster Confession of Faith.<sup>20</sup>

The earliest congregation in Edinburgh was Bristo Street Associate Presbytery founded in 1741 with Adam Gib ordained as its first minister, pastoring the church until his death in 1788. By 1745 the congregation numbered twelve hundred.<sup>21</sup> With the Jacobite Rising that year, most Presbyterians left Edinburgh as the rebels approached the city. Gib remained with his congregation, however, three hundred of

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<sup>19</sup> John R. McIntosh, *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party, 1740-1800*, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 1998), p.93

<sup>20</sup> Roxburgh, *Relief Church*, p.12

<sup>21</sup> S. Isbell, 'Adam Gib' in *DSCHT*, pp. 356-357

whom applied to the Lord Provost, offering their help to defend the city. Permission was granted, with arms supplied from the Castle and a sergeant hired to drill them. During the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh, Gib and his congregation worshipped in the village of Dreghorn, three miles west of the city, returning to Bristo Street when their army left for England <sup>22</sup>

This Associate Synod did not maintain its unity for long, however. The group divided further because of the Burgess Oath of 1744 which citizens of Edinburgh, Glasgow and the larger towns were required to take to enable them to engage in business, join a trade guild or vote in a parliamentary election. The oath demanded recognition of the Church of Scotland as the national church, thus effectively preventing Roman Catholics from obtaining public office. Although refusal to take the oath led to a heavy fine, some of the Associate Presbytery did so, condemning the oath as erastian, an unwarranted interference of the state in church affairs. For them it also meant accepting the ‘errors’ for which they had left the Established Church and to swear such an oath, therefore, ‘was inconsistent with the public profession of the Seceders’.<sup>23</sup> On 10 April 1747 twelve ministers and eleven elders, opposed to the oath, met in Gib’s house and formed the General Associate Synod or, as popularly known, the Antiburgher Secession Church.<sup>24</sup> The majority of the Associate Presbytery accepted the oath, regarding swearing it as a matter of forbearance. They became known as the Burgher Secession Church.

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<sup>22</sup> John McKerrow, *History of the Secession Church*, Revised and Enlarged Edition (Glasgow: A. Fullerton and Co., 1841), p.201

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.* p.848 (Pages 845-848 contain a short biography of Gib.)

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* p.251

After further divisions and reunions among this small group, two Secession Churches had emerged. The Original Secession of 1806 advocated the connection of church and state and eventually reunited with the Church of Scotland in 1839. The United Secession, from the remnants of the old Burgher and Antiburgher Synod, was constituted, appropriately, on 8 September 1820 in the Bristo Street church ‘being the spot where the separation had taken place seventy-three years before’.<sup>25</sup> The United Secession embraced the voluntary principle, whereby membership of the church was by free choice rather than birth, and each congregation was responsible for the support of its own minister and upkeep of its buildings.

### **2.2.1 Relief Church**

In 1761, a further division in Scottish Presbyterianism came with the formation of the Relief Church led by Thomas Gillespie of Carnock, near Dunfermline, and Thomas Boston of Jedburgh. Gillespie was a member of the Associate Presbytery and in 1738 began to train for that Church’s ministry at their academy in Perth. However, his stay there lasted only ten days since he was concerned that they did not hold communion with Christians from other denominations and also disturbed by their emphasis on covenants.<sup>26</sup> Two years later, having been recommended by twelve Church of Scotland ministers, Gillespie was accepted by Philip Doddridge as a student at his Dissenting Academy in Northampton to complete his theological training.<sup>27</sup> Here Gillespie was influenced by the Evangelical Revival and later he

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<sup>25</sup> *ibid.* p.660

<sup>26</sup> Roxburgh, *Relief Church*, p.13

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.* p.14

corresponded with Jonathan Edwards.<sup>28</sup> He was licensed as a preacher in Northampton in October 1740 and ordained in January 1741 by a class of dissenting ministers, moderated by Doddridge, who commended him for the ministry. Despite his ordination by an English dissenter, Gillespie was called to the parish church of Carnock in July 1741, when a large majority of the heritors, elders and heads of families eligible to do so voted for him. Dunfermline Presbytery approved the call and on 4 September 1741 he was inducted to the charge.<sup>29</sup>

In 1749 the neighbouring parish of Inverkeithing became vacant which led to a protracted disputed settlement. As a member of Presbytery, Gillespie was involved in the dispute. The choice of the family who claimed the right of patronage was opposed by the town council, magistrates, and kirk session of Inverkeithing, who had their own nominee. The Presbytery agreed with the patrons. On the question being submitted to Fife Synod, they passed the matter to the 1750 General Assembly for decision. Instead, the Assembly referred the case to a commission who sustained the call to the patrons' choice<sup>30</sup> The case dragged on for two more years, with Gillespie among six ministers who protested against the forced settlement at Inverkeithing. Finally in May 1752, mainly at the instigation of William Robertson, the Assembly deposed Gillespie from the Church of Scotland ministry, as he had presented a paper setting out his reasons for protesting. He was the only one of the six to receive this punishment. It has been suggested that the real reason for the Assembly's decision was Gillespie's ordination in England, which was seen by the Moderates as suspect

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<sup>28</sup> *ibid.* p.20

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.* p.28

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.* pp. 68-71

because it brought ‘the danger of independency within the Church of Scotland’.<sup>31</sup>

This Moderate suspicion was confirmed by Gillespie’s subsequent action. Because of his ordination, he was able to act independently, forming his own church in Dunfermline to which most of his Carnock parishioners adhered. This soon became the largest, most influential church in the town.

Boston had been the popular choice of minister at Jedburgh in 1755, supported by the town council, elders and most of the people. Because the Crown, as patron, had refused to present him, the people built a separate meeting-house, confirming their call to Boston as their pastor. He was inducted in December 1757.<sup>32</sup> So he, too, separated from the Established Church. In 1761, Thomas Collier, a dissenting minister from England although a Scot by birth, had accepted a call to Colinsburgh, in Fife, again by popular will. Now that there was a third congregation, Boston and Gillespie agreed that it was appropriate to constitute these churches into a Presbytery. This was done on 22 October 1761, the day of Collier’s ordination, which both attended, with Boston preaching the sermon. Following this service, the three ministers, with an elder from each congregation formed the first Presbytery of Relief. The articles of association make clear that Christ is the Head of the church and by His authority, the three ministers are bound

to fulfil every part of the ministry they have received from him, and for that end, in concurrence with ruling elders, to constitute a presbytery as Scripture directs; for committing that ministry Christ has intrusted them with to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others; *and to act for the relief of oppressed Christian congregations*- when called

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<sup>31</sup> *ibid.* p.82

<sup>32</sup> D.C. Lachman, ‘Thomas Boston’ in *DSCHT*, p.89

in Providence. And therein they act precisely the same part they did when ministers-members of the Established Church of Scotland.<sup>33</sup>

In admitting Christians from other denominations to their communion services, the Relief Church adhered to the doctrine of ‘communion among all visible saints’. Many of its members had been influenced by the preaching of George Whitefield, an Episcopalian. Indeed, Gillespie had co-operated with him in his revivals when he had visited Scotland.<sup>34</sup> In this respect the Relief Church was more liberal than the Secession Churches. While retaining a Presbyterian form of church government, the Relief also adopted the principle of voluntarism. Thus it was more akin to the independent churches which were being established in Scotland from the mid-eighteenth century.

The first Relief congregation in Edinburgh was formed in 1762 and again was the result of a dispute over patronage. The Town Council was patron of all the Established Churches in the city, but oversight was in the hands of a General Session consisting of each parish minister with six elders and six deacons from their parishes. Among their duties was the selection of new ministers for the city churches. While Moderates, like Robertson, were members of the General Session, the Popular Party formed its majority.

The trouble began with the death in August 1762 of John Hyndman, minister of Lady Yester’s Church. Two days later Robertson ‘indicated his desire to see John Drysdale, minister of Kirkliston, become minister of Lady Yester’s’. (Drysdale was a

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<sup>33</sup>Gavin Struthers, ‘The History of the Rise of the Relief Church’ in *United Presbyterian Fathers*, pp.181-333 (p.286) (Emphasis mine)

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.* p.322



relative by marriage.)<sup>35</sup> The General Session wished to nominate John Gibson of St. Ninian's, a relative of one of the city merchants who was also a town councillor. The supporters of Drysdale encouraged the Town Council to decide themselves, rather than involve the General Session. This necessitated repeal of an act of 1750, which required three weeks delay before a ministerial call could proceed.<sup>36</sup> After appeals against this decision went as far as the House of Lords, Drysdale was eventually inducted to Lady Yester's on 14 August 1764.

Following the induction, Gillespie received a letter from one of the members seeking advice as representative of a group determined to leave the church because of this settlement. Gillespie warned them against 'the rigidity of the Secession congregations' (of which there were four in Edinburgh) and advised the disaffected parishioners to 'associate with the Presbytery of Relief'.<sup>37</sup> This they did, beginning to collect subscriptions for a building and the support of a minister. The new church, College Street, was opened on 12 January 1766, with James Bayne as its first minister. He was inducted in February by Thomas Gillespie.<sup>38</sup>

The United Secession and Relief Churches came together in 1847 to form the United Presbyterian Church.

### **2.2.2 Reformed Presbyterian Church**

A smaller seceding group was the Reformed Presbyterian Church, or Cameronians, which developed from those Covenanters who remained outside the

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<sup>35</sup> Roxburgh, *Relief Church*, p.188, including footnote

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.* p.189

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.* p.190

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.* p.193

re-established Church of Scotland in the 1690 Revolution Settlement. The basis of their objection was that this settlement had taken place as a result of legislation and was not in accordance with the National Covenant of 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. These had restored Presbyterian worship, cancelling the Episcopalian reforms of Charles I, affirming that Christ and not the monarch was Head of the Church. The Reformed Presbyterians followed their strict interpretation of the Covenants to such an extent that they excommunicated all members who took an oath of allegiance to the Crown or voted in parliamentary elections.<sup>39</sup> As we shall see, this practice proved a barrier to Presbyterian reunion for some years.

Initially, the Reformed Presbyterians concentrated in country areas, until by the early nineteenth century they realised that this would severely restrict their membership. Gradually, therefore, they moved to more populous districts. For example, in 1792 a congregation had been formed in Loanhead, a few miles from Edinburgh, whence most of their support and members came. In December 1804, William Goold was ordained as pastor of the joint Edinburgh/Loanhead congregation and in June 1818 the two were formally disjoined, 'on condition that they were able to maintain themselves apart'.<sup>40</sup> Goold elected to settle in Edinburgh where the congregation purchased a meeting place from a Relief Church. In 1840 Goold's son, another William, was unanimously called to succeed his father, acting as co-pastor until the latter's death in 1844, when he assumed sole charge. In 1861 the congregation moved to a new building on George IV Bridge

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<sup>39</sup> J. R. Fleming, *A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-1874*, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark 1927), p.136

<sup>40</sup> W. J. Couper, 'The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland: Its Congregations, Ministers and Students' *Records of Scottish Church History Society* Vol. II (1925) 10-117 (p.45)

in close contiguity with certain historic sites in the near neighbourhood - the Greyfriars' Churchyard and the Grassmarket, both of which were intimately connected with Covenanting history.<sup>41</sup>

Thus the Reformed Presbyterians in Edinburgh would have a constant reminder of their struggles to uphold the Covenants, situated as they were beside the place where the National Covenant had been signed and the site where some had been martyred for their faith. William Goold, junior, was elected his Church's Professor of Biblical Literature and Church History in 1854, teaching 'within the precincts of his own church buildings'.<sup>42</sup> He was to play an important role in the union of the Reformed Presbyterians with the Free Church in 1876.

### **2.3 The Great Disruption**

The Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 was the culmination of a 'Ten Years' Conflict' between the Moderates and Evangelicals in the General Assembly. The 'Ten Years Conflict' began with the Veto Act, which had been proposed by Thomas Chalmers in 1833 but narrowly defeated. In the following year, having been redrafted, it was passed by 184 votes to 139, although opposed by most Moderates. This Act of Assembly declared that no pastor should be 'intruded' upon any congregation against the will of the people. It allowed male heads of families, who were church members, to vote on the appointment of the parish minister. Although the patron remained responsible for selection of a candidate, the ballot enabled members to veto a candidate if the majority opposed the patron's choice.<sup>43</sup> In this

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<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *ibid* p.117

<sup>43</sup> Henderson, *Heritage*, p.65

way the Evangelicals hoped to regulate the effects of patronage and to avoid the appointment of unpopular ministers. Among the Moderates was John Hope, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, who opposed the Act in the Assembly,

arguing that the Church had overextended its authority in interfering with the civil rights of patrons and their candidates.<sup>44</sup>

The result was a challenge, using specific cases, to the operation of the Veto Act in the civil courts reaching the Court of Session and House of Lords, which decided in 1839 that the Church had exceeded its powers in passing the Veto Act.<sup>45</sup> Where a candidate was presented for his first charge, settlement also involved his ordination to the office of minister. This was a spiritual function carried out by the Presbytery which had oversight of the charge. The Evangelicals held that the state had no right to interfere in ordination, which was entirely within the jurisdiction of the Church. This direct conflict between civil and ecclesiastical law proved irreconcilable, at least while patronage remained the law of the land.

Matters came to a head in 1842 when the Assembly submitted to the government its Claim of Right maintaining that Jesus Christ was the sole head of the Church and the state must not interfere in spiritual matters. In effect this was a demand to abolish patronage. The government's refusal to act made the disruption inevitable. Before the opening session of the 1843 General Assembly in St Andrew's Church, George Street, crowds had gathered in the streets surrounding the church, expectantly awaiting the outcome. The Moderator, Dr. David Welsh, opened proceedings then

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<sup>44</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p.297

<sup>45</sup> Stewart J. Brown, 'The Ten Years' Conflict' in *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption* ed. by Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1993), pp.1-27 (p.14)

read the Protest which he laid on the table. One by one in orderly rows most of the Evangelicals left the Assembly.

Adam Black, whose political career was described in the previous chapter, was among the waiting crowd on that fateful day, 18 May 1843. He described the scene thus:

At last the Moderator, Dr. Welsh, came out of one of the side doors, perspiring at every pore, and wiping his face with his handkerchief. Shortly after, the main door opened and the seceding members of Assembly poured out and marched in a long stream down Hanover Street, three abreast, the Provost at their head, down to Tanfield Hall. It was a glorious sight.<sup>46</sup>

Tanfield Hall, Canonmills, had been prepared beforehand, as the meeting place of the new denomination. In total thirty-eight per cent of the clergy and forty to fifty per cent of adherents left the Established Church to constitute the Free Church of Scotland.<sup>47</sup> In the Presbytery of Edinburgh alone almost sixty per cent of ministers joined the Free Church.<sup>48</sup> Lay membership is impossible to quantify with any precision.

Commenting on the situation a few weeks later, Lord Cockburn, the distinguished judge, noted:

[The Free Church] is distinguished from all past or existing sects of Scotch Presbyterian Dissenters in this- that its adherents are not almost entirely of the lower orders. They have already peers, baronets, and knights, provosts, and sheriffs, and a long train of gentry. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh walked with them from St. Andrew's Church to Canonmills, where the late Provost of Glasgow and the Sheriff of Mid-Lothian joined them. And that extraordinary procession was dignified by about eight old moderators, two principals of universities, and four

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<sup>46</sup> Nicolson, *Adam Black*, pp. 124-5

<sup>47</sup> Callum Brown, *Religion and Society*, p.21

<sup>48</sup> Stewart Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 335

theological professors. [---] This is the first time that our gentry are not ashamed of Presbytery, but not ashamed of it with the additional vulgarity of unendowed dissent.<sup>49</sup>

As we shall see in Chapter 5, the membership of Free St. George's consisted of several leading Edinburgh professional men, although its situation in the West End made this more likely. Nevertheless, this church's membership supports Cockburn's conclusion.

For the ministers, the Disruption meant considerable sacrifice as overnight they lost their homes and stipends. It was not a step, therefore, to be taken lightly. Their anguish in doing so may be summed up in the words of Dr. Robert Gordon, ordained in 1816, minister of Edinburgh's High Church (St. Giles) since 1830 and Moderator of the General Assembly in 1841:

I do it most unwillingly. I am compelled by a force far more terrible than the baton of the constable, or the musket of the soldier. [---] I am compelled by my conscience.<sup>50</sup>

After the Disruption Dr. Gordon became the first minister of the Free High Church (now New College Library) in Edinburgh. He died in 1853.<sup>51</sup>

A number of Evangelicals had formed a 'Middle Party' in 1840-41 and they remained in the Church of Scotland. Although sympathising with those who left, they thought it better to preserve Church unity rather than provoke a schism. A more realistic view, however, could be their reluctance to leave a church to which they had given a lifetime of service. The leader of the Middle Party was the popular,

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<sup>49</sup> Cockburn, *Journal* II, p.26

<sup>50</sup> Thomas Brown, *Annals of the Disruption: with extracts from the narratives of ministers who left the Scottish establishment in 1843*, (Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace 1893), p.145

<sup>51</sup> *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland 1843-1900* ed. by William Ewing 2 vols., (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark 1914), I p.172

evangelical preacher Dr. William Muir, the first minister of St. Stephen's Church, which had been erected as a new parish in 1829. A. H. Charteris, later to become a leading figure in the Church of Scotland, joined the congregation of St. Stephen's in 1854, when he came to study divinity in Edinburgh. Commenting on Dr. Muir's situation during the Disruption controversy, he writes:

His was the fate of all who take the middle ground in days of conflict. He was distrusted by most men on both sides, yet he was the personal friend of men in both parties.<sup>52</sup>

Among these friends were Thomas Chalmers, who is acknowledged to be the most influential of the Disruption leaders, and George Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, Foreign Secretary from 1841 to 1846 under Robert Peel, and who was himself to become Prime Minister in 1852. In some respects therefore Dr. Muir had acted as a go-between, of whom it was said that

Lord Aberdeen and the rest of the Peel ministry depended on him, when the question was how far they should go in yielding to the party that afterwards became the Free Church. Dr Chalmers on one side, and Lord Aberdeen on the other, felt the power of his beautiful character.<sup>53</sup>

Of the twenty-seven pre-1843 parish churches in Edinburgh, fifteen "came out" at the Disruption and twelve new Free Church congregations were formed between 1843 and 1860. In response to the growth of the suburbs, from the 1860s to the 1890s the Church of Scotland erected fifteen new parish churches while the Free Church built thirteen.<sup>54</sup> The city, and indeed the country, was divided as the two major Presbyterian churches, and from 1847 the smaller United Presbyterians,

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<sup>52</sup> Gordon, *Charteris*, p.40

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.* pp.40-41

<sup>54</sup> See National Archives of Scotland Index to CH2 and CH3 Series

competed against one another, to attract congregations, build churches and schools - with the Established Church and the Free Church each regarding itself as the 'true' Church of Scotland.

Although, as a member of a Congregational Church, Adam Black was not directly involved, he nevertheless took a great interest in wider ecclesiastical affairs. He regarded the Disruption as a benefit to Scotland rather than a calamity, since the power of the Moderate Party in the Established Church was diminished and the competition with the Free Church led to more churches and schools being built, so increasing Christian witness. As we have already seen, this schism had significant consequences for Black's own life.

## 2.4 Reunion?

The divisions within Scottish Presbyterianism could not be permanent, especially as the Established, Free and United Presbyterian Churches had little to separate them doctrinally. The religious census of 1851 (to be examined in Chapter 5 in relation to social class and church membership) showed that in Edinburgh and Leith these three denominations had around 20,000 sittings each. However, attendances were not equal as the following extract shows.<sup>55</sup>

Denomination	Total Sittings	am	pm	evening
Established Church	19,994	8,674	6,887	1,573
Free Church	20,830	15,315	15,922	4,547
United Presbyterian	20,465	12,792	15,235	1,128

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<sup>55</sup> Extract from Horace Mann, 'Census of Great Britain Religious Worship and Education (Scotland) Report and Tables 1854' in *Parliamentary Papers Session 31 January-12 August 1854* Vol LIX pp.301-346 (p.338 Table C)



The greater attendance at the non-established Presbyterian churches, therefore, suggests that they were more attractive to the people of Edinburgh. The stumbling block to reunion, however, continued to be patronage and the extent of state control over ecclesiastical affairs.

The first step towards reunion came in 1852 with the proposal brought before the Free Church Assembly that they should unite with the Original Secession Synod, which had remained outwith the United Secession / Relief Church union in 1847. A leading part in promoting this union was taken by Robert Candlish of Free St. George's.<sup>56</sup> That the disunity among Scottish Presbyterians caused deep concern to many ministers is evident from the speech by James Begg, Newington Free Church, who seconded Candlish's proposal. Begg stated :

But it occurs to me that we are enacting a part of history; that this is in reality a most important step in the progress of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. [---] The only regret I have is, that we cannot see our way to a larger union.<sup>57</sup>

A United Presbyterian view of the process is given by John Brown, minister of the Broughton Place Church. In a letter dated 8 January 1852 he wrote:

To promote union among Christians, without compromise of principle, has been one of the first wishes of my heart, one of the leading objects of my life; [---] The Disruption of the Established Church was in my view but a step towards further union. The Union of the Free Church with the United Presbyterian Church, I regard as an event of the future, it may be not of the very distant future. I am afraid, however, that there is little probability of its being very soon effected, so as to secure peace and permanence to the united body.<sup>58</sup>

The barrier to union, as Brown saw it, was the insistence by the Free Church

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<sup>56</sup> William Wilson, *Candlish*, p.475

<sup>57</sup> Thomas Smith, *James Begg*, II, pp. 186-187

<sup>58</sup> John Cairns, *John Brown*, pp. 312-313 (Emphasis as in original)

on making the principle of connexion between Church and State, as embodied in the Westminster Confession of Faith, a term of official communion.<sup>59</sup>

Brown died on 13 October 1858 so did not see the union he desired come into effect.

During the year 1862-3 it was agreed that the Free Church, United Presbyterians and Reformed Presbyterians should begin negotiations towards a tripartite union, thus ushering in a second 'ten years' conflict',<sup>60</sup> so protracted did the process become. James Begg was initially strongly in favour', because of the 'great kindnesses' he had received from the United Presbyterians at the Disruption.<sup>61</sup> However, he also believed that union should only be achieved 'without the sacrifice of principle on either side'.<sup>62</sup> By 1870, Begg had decided that such a union could not take place without the sacrifice of vital principles, particularly regarding church establishment and endowments.<sup>63</sup> Another possible reason for his change of heart is that the pressure for union came from the Assembly and Synods of the three churches, which overwhelmingly were composed of ministers and elders. The ordinary church member was less enthusiastic. Begg therefore became a staunch opponent of the drive towards union and was 'the speaker most sought after' for anti-union meetings.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *ibid.* p.313

<sup>60</sup> Thomas Smith, *James Begg*, II, p.494

<sup>61</sup> *ibid* p.495

<sup>62</sup> *ibid* p.494

<sup>63</sup> Simpson, *Principal Rainy*, I, p.185

<sup>64</sup> Thomas Smith, *James Begg*, II, p.507

Candlish was an ‘interested and active member’ of the Free Church committee which examined the possibility of union.<sup>65</sup> The consultations collapsed in 1873 ‘in consequence of the determined opposition of a part of the Free Church’.<sup>66</sup> Holding to the Establishment ideal, this minority objected to the United Presbyterian principle of voluntarism.<sup>67</sup> Despite the failure of the proposals at this stage, it was clear that the majority considered union to be their duty as soon as conditions were appropriate. This was the last General Assembly Candlish attended. He died on 19 October 1873.

As noted above, the barrier to the Reformed Presbyterian Church uniting was their rigid adherence to the seventeenth-century Covenants with the threat of excommunication if members transgressed. For some years, however, there was growing disquiet over this practice. In 1863, therefore, their Synod enacted the following :

while recommending the members of the Church to abstain from the use of the franchise and from taking the oath of allegiance, discipline to the effect of suspension and expulsion from the Church shall cease. <sup>68</sup>

Accordingly, the way was open for the Reformed Presbyterians to unite with the others. However, the tiny minority of dissenters to this proposal, eleven members, formed themselves into another Synod ‘claiming alone to stand by the principles of

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<sup>65</sup> Watson, *Candlish* , p.110

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.* p. 112

<sup>67</sup> Ian Machin, ‘Voluntarism and Reunion 1874-1929’ in *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929* ed. by Norman Macdougall (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd 1983), pp. 221-238 (p.221)

<sup>68</sup> Fleming, *1843-1874*, p.136

the denomination.<sup>69</sup> This rump remained firmly outside the tripartite negotiations towards union.

Despite the collapse of negotiations between the Free Church and the United Presbyterians, the Reformed Presbyterians continued talks with the Free Church. The two Churches united in 1876 with the Reformed Presbyterians

stipulating, however, that they still held by their objection to the Revolution Settlement and disapproved of an alliance of the Church with the British State as then constituted.<sup>70</sup>

In recognition of the part he had played in achieving this union, W. H. Goold, minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, George IV Bridge, was elected as the last Moderator of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod in 1876 and the first of the post-union Free Church General Assembly in 1877.<sup>71</sup> The smaller body was subsumed into the larger.

At the same time as these discussions were taking place, the Presbytery of Edinburgh presented an overture to the 1866 Church of Scotland General Assembly on the abolition of patronage. While a committee of enquiry was then appointed, it was not until 1869 that it was resolved to petition Parliament on the subject, sending a deputation to William Gladstone, the Prime Minister.<sup>72</sup> In his interview with them, Gladstone asked about the Free Church position. Although that Church had not been consulted, the Church of Scotland deputation insisted that their measure was

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<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> J. R. Fleming, *A History of the Church in Scotland 1875-1929*, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark 1933), pp. 35-36

<sup>71</sup> Couper, *Reformed Presbyterian Church*, p.117

<sup>72</sup> Simpson, *Principal Rainy*, I, p.256

intended as ‘one of conciliation towards the Free Church.’<sup>73</sup> Gladstone then asked them to ‘draw up an historical statement on the subject’. This was understood to mean that, if the Established Church was to adopt the Free Church’s views on patronage, this should be done ‘with fairness all round’.<sup>74</sup> In other words, the Free Church should be consulted, as they had stood against patronage in the past and ‘paid the price’.<sup>75</sup> Gladstone therefore declined to act.

With the return of a Conservative administration in 1874, however, a Bill to abolish patronage was brought before Parliament. The Bill’s chief sponsor was the Lord Advocate, Edward Strathearn Gordon, an elder in St. Stephen’s. He declared that he ‘desired to promote conciliation’ for which the Bill would be the basis.<sup>76</sup> The government majority ensured the passage of the Church Patronage (Scotland) Act 1874, which abolished patronage, gave congregations the right to elect their own ministers and recognised that the Church had the right to determine all questions regarding the appointment of ministers.

Thus the main obstacle to union between the Church of Scotland and the Free Church was removed, or so the former hoped. Alternatively, the Established Church would be strengthened as members re-joined her from the Free Church. However, that Church

asserted that mere repeal of the pernicious 1712 Act was no answer to the Disruption.

Something very much wider would be required before they could contemplate reunion with

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<sup>73</sup> *ibid.* p.257

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *ibid.* p.258

<sup>76</sup> *ibid.* p.259

what Dr. Chalmers had called “a purified Establishment” to which they all hoped one day to return.<sup>77</sup>

The result of the abolition of patronage, therefore, was not harmony but division as the Free Church and United Presbyterians, afraid that the Church of Scotland would become too powerful, launched a crusade against disestablishment in a bitter pamphlet war.

### **2.4.1 Disestablishment**

By the 1870s disestablishment had become the most important question in ecclesiastical circles. The failure of the Free Church and United Presbyterians to join together acted as a catalyst; they each felt that the ‘continued existence and possible reconstruction of the Establishment’ had prevented union.<sup>78</sup> In addition, both Churches

accepted [the 1874 Patronage Act] as a new challenge to adjust and proclaim their attitude to the whole question of Church and State.<sup>79</sup>

A precedent had also been set in March 1868, when Gladstone brought before Parliament a resolution to disestablish the Church of Ireland. His proposals were carried despite the opposition of the Conservative government. The general election in the autumn of that year was ‘largely a plebiscite on the Irish church’.<sup>80</sup> The Liberals achieved a resounding victory in this first election under the extended franchise. Accordingly, the new government, which included over sixty

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<sup>77</sup> Augustus Muir, *John White CH DD LLD*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958), p.90

<sup>78</sup> James Barr, *The Scottish Church Question*, (London: James Clarke & Co. Ltd., 1920), p.105

<sup>79</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire*, p.254

Nonconformists, passed an act to disestablish the Church of Ireland with effect from 1 January 1871.<sup>81</sup> This Act

was the first permanent break in the traditional link between Church and State in the United Kingdom.<sup>82</sup>

As a result the Established Churches in both England and Scotland felt threatened, especially as the Irish Church lost its property to the state.

In 1872 the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church appointed a committee to examine the issue of the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Established Churches in England and Scotland. This campaign

welded all sections into one, and emphasised that positive unity of doctrine which exists alongside of legitimate variety of opinion.<sup>83</sup>

The United Presbyterians, as voluntaries, held that disestablishment was necessary before a re-union of the Presbyterian Churches could take place. The Free Church joined the campaign in 1874, following a decisive vote in their General Assembly that year. Disestablishment thereafter 'became part of the expressed mind' of that Church.<sup>84</sup> For the Free Church, too, disestablishment, in the words of Robert Rainy, 'became a duty' in the interest of spiritual freedom and to achieve Presbyterian unity.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> *ibid.* p. 255

<sup>82</sup> G.I.T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1869 to 1921*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p.27

<sup>83</sup> Gordon, *Charteris*, p.397

<sup>84</sup> Simpson, *Principal Rainy*, I, p.278

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.* p.281

While the United Presbyterians as a body supported disestablishment, the Free Church was divided on the question, with about one third of its General Assembly each year being against. Nevertheless, this campaign led to co-operation between two churches which shared much in common doctrinally and in church government. The Mutual Eligibility Act of 1873 permitted Free Church and United Presbyterian ministers to be called as pastors in the other church on an individual basis.<sup>86</sup> However, very few took advantage of this provision.

The disestablishment campaign brought out the close connection between the Scottish churches and politics during the later nineteenth century and played an important role in parliamentary elections. With some foresight, the Marquis of Hartington, then leader of the Liberal party, during a speech in Edinburgh on 6 November 1877, stated:

when, if ever, Scotch opinion, or even Scotch Liberal opinion is fully formed on this subject, I think that I may venture to say on behalf of the party as a whole that it will be prepared to deal with the question on its merits, and without reference to any other consideration.

He went on to describe the Patronage Act as ‘a step in the direction of Disestablishment’.<sup>87</sup> However, the disestablishment question probably had most effect on the general election of 1885.

As part of the election campaign for his Midlothian seat, Gladstone, at a meeting in the Free Assembly Hall on 11 November 1885, was questioned about Scottish Church disestablishment, since a resolution was to be moved in the House of Commons in its favour. There was also a suggestion that disestablishment be made a

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<sup>86</sup> Mackintosh, *Principal Rainy*, p.42

<sup>87</sup> Simpson, *Principal Rainy*, II, pp.1-2



‘test question’ for Parliamentary candidates, with voters exercising their choice according to the answer. On asking whether he would support the proposal, Gladstone replied:

with regard to the separation of the Scottish Church question, it is in the first place dictated by justice and by right; it would not be right that that question should be decided by English opinion; it is also dictated by policy, because I think no settlement could be satisfactory to Scotland unless it were a settlement, the genuine offspring of Scottish sentiment and Scottish conviction.<sup>88</sup>

A test question would not be a true reflection of Scottish opinion. He added that the matter would require ‘a long series of resolutions’ before it could be ‘accepted as conclusive of the opinion of Scotland’.<sup>89</sup> With this statement Gladstone was postponing a possible decision on the issue indefinitely, unsurprising in one who strongly favoured a national established church, certainly in England. In reaction, at the instigation of John Cairns, Principal of the United Presbyterian Theological Hall and vice-president of the Scottish Disestablishment Association, 1,475 ministers, mainly from Baptist, Evangelical Union, and Congregationalist churches, petitioned Gladstone on 12 November in the following letter:

Sir,

In view of the approaching General Election, we, the undersigned Ministers of Religion in Scotland, feel that it is due to you that you should be told what in our judgement is the first great legislative step demanded by political justice as well as by national religion in this portion of the Empire. The history of the Church in Scotland and of our country has taught us that there are outstanding occasions in the Providence of God when those who occupy our responsible position must make their voices to be heard in political life, and such a time has now arrived in the relations of Church and State in Scotland.

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<sup>88</sup> New College Library[NCL] Special Collections Qe 13/5 *Fourth Midlothian Campaign : Political Speeches Delivered in November 1885 by Right Hon W E Gladstone MP No2 Speech in the Free Assembly Hall Edinburgh November 11* Authorised Edition (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot), 28pp. (p.21) (The speech was printed as a pamphlet soon after delivery.)

<sup>89</sup> *ibid.* p.23

It is felt by many of us that we have refrained far too long from taking up a resolute and urgent attitude on this long-ripe question, but we are all the more agreed now that there is no likelihood that any matter of so much importance to the Liberal Party here, and to the peace and well-being of this country, can be brought before the coming Parliament, as the claim that the unjust and injurious connection between the Established Church and the State shall at once come to an end.

The Church of Christ in Scotland is broken in pieces; our immense Liberal majority is perplexed and demoralised; and a multitude of social and religious evils have long flowed from the present unhappy state of things. And therefore, we, the undersigned Liberal Clergy of Scotland, look to the great Party in the State of which you are the illustrious head, to make a speedy end of this religious scandal and political injustice. And we hereby pledge ourselves to do all that in us lies to support you, and those who work along with you, in carrying into law this indispensable measure of Liberal and enlightened statesmanship.<sup>90</sup>

For these ministers the ‘unjust and injurious connection’ consisted of the advantages accruing to the Church of Scotland because of its status as the ‘national’ Church.

The leading advocate of disestablishment in the Free Church was Robert Rainy, who succeeded Robert Gordon as minister of Free High Church in 1854 and became principal of New College, the Free Church Divinity Hall, in 1874. He argued that there were

no tenable public grounds on which [the Church of Scotland] can legitimately claim, or can usefully fill, the position of the National Church.<sup>91</sup>

The basis of this assertion was that the Established Church represented a minority

not merely of the people, but of the church-going people of the country [--- and was] nearly a nullity in large districts of the country.<sup>92</sup>

In refuting these allegations Principal John Tulloch of St. Mary’s College, the Church of Scotland theological college in St Andrews, stated that

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<sup>90</sup>NCL Special Collections Qe 13/7 Letter to the Right Hon W E Gladstone DCL MP (Its issue the day after his address meant that it must have been prepared beforehand.)

<sup>91</sup> Principal Rainy, ‘Disestablishment in Scotland’ in *Contemporary Review* Vol. XLI (January –June 1882) 431-444 (432)

<sup>92</sup> *ibid.* pp.433-434

[Rainy] has become a political propagandist on behalf of an issue which he has settled beforehand. He nowhere faces nor apparently recognises the seriousness of the national change which he advocates, either as to its means or its consequences, still less as to the principles which it involves.<sup>93</sup>

For Tulloch, if disestablished, the Church of Scotland would lose its Christian character and its destruction

would be a perpetual memorial that Presbyterianism had failed in the national task assigned to it in 1690; and, amid all the heroisms of its history, had never learned “to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.”<sup>94</sup>

During the election A.H. Charteris, Professor of Biblical Criticism at Edinburgh University, was

prepared if need be to put Church before party, and maintained it to be the duty of staunch Churchmen to support a Liberal MP like Sir Robert Anstruther against a Conservative official candidate.<sup>95</sup>

With this statement, because of his reluctance to precipitate a possible division in the Church of Scotland, he broke the traditional neutral stance of the church in political affairs. He himself, although Conservative by inclination, had voted only once and then ‘against a disestablisher.’<sup>96</sup> Charteris was also taking account of Gladstone’s pronouncement (above) that he would not make disestablishment of the Church of Scotland government policy.

The incoming Liberal government of 1885 was short-lived, being defeated in the following year over the issue of Home Rule for Ireland. The new administration, a

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<sup>93</sup> John Tulloch, ‘Disestablishment in Scotland: A Reply’ in *Contemporary Review*, Vol. XLI (January-June 1882), 749-767 (750-751)

<sup>94</sup> *ibid.* p. 767 The quotation he cites is from Ephesians 4. 3

<sup>95</sup> Gordon, *Charteris*, p.398

<sup>96</sup> *ibid.*

Conservative and Liberal-Unionist coalition, did not proceed with the Scottish church question, despite the majority of Scottish members of Parliament being in favour of disestablishment.<sup>97</sup> Although Gladstone was returned to power in 1892 pledged to disestablishment of the Scottish and Welsh churches - but not, as a High Anglican, the Church of England - he was unable to fulfil this commitment. The Government of Ireland Bill absorbed most of his attention in the early part of his administration. On 9 September 1893 it was defeated in the House of Lords 'by the devastating margin of 419 to 41'.<sup>98</sup> A further defeat occurred when his cabinet failed to agree his proposals for expenditure on the navy; of the sixteen ministers, only three voted in favour.<sup>99</sup> His failing health was also causing problems within government and, aged eighty-five, Gladstone resigned as Prime Minister in March 1894. He was succeeded by Lord Rosebery, who resigned the premiership fifteen months later, exhausted by a continuously quarrelling cabinet.<sup>100</sup> The ensuing general election in July 1895 resulted in a Conservative government with the Liberals in opposition for the next ten years. So disestablishment for the Church of Scotland was dropped.

#### **2.4.2 Free Church /United Presbyterian Union**

Although the disestablishment campaign failed in its objective, the close relationship between the Free Church and United Presbyterian ministers it engendered led to the re-opening of the negotiations towards union which had

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<sup>97</sup> Fleming , *1875-1929*, p. 31

<sup>98</sup> Shannon, *Gladstone*, p.448

<sup>99</sup> *ibid.* p.454

<sup>100</sup> Rhodes James, *Rosebery*, p.382

collapsed in 1873. The United Presbyterian Synod had never doubted the rightness of this step. For the Free Church, on the other hand, the opportunity had to wait until the Disruption generation had died and the younger ministers moved away from strict Calvinism and commitment to the establishment principle. Even then, the union did not take effect until 1900, and a minority of Free Church congregations still refused to join.

On 18 November 1874 the Church of Scotland Committee on Union, at a meeting of the Commission of Assembly (the body responsible for church business between the annual meetings of the General Assembly), brought forward the recommendation

that the General Assembly, without further delay, should formally approach the other Presbyterian Churches in Scotland with a view to union, and that the Church of Scotland should be prepared to consider any basis of union consistent with her historic principles.<sup>101</sup>

This resolution was adopted unanimously and taken to the General Assembly. The cause of reunion had been strengthened by the co-operation of the churches in the revival campaign of Moody and Sankey during 1873-74, as we shall see in Chapter 3. If the churches could come together in evangelism why could they not unite in practice? For some it was incongruous that, following joint meetings which attracted thousands, each denomination separated again for worship on the Sabbath.

Denominationalism has been described as

the notion that while one's own beliefs might be true, other quite different beliefs might also be true.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup>ibid. p.268

<sup>102</sup> Bruce, *A House Divided*, p.61

Co-operation with Moody and Sankey had shown that the beliefs which united the Scottish Presbyterians were greater than the theological points on which they were divided. Nevertheless, the issues raised in the practical outworking of union took a generation to resolve.

As with the earlier abortive attempt, the United Presbyterians made the first approach in 1896, stating that ‘incorporating union alone was adequate’.<sup>103</sup> The leading figure in the Free Church Assembly was Robert Rainy, of whom it was said:

Seldom if ever in the records of our religious history has there been witnessed a more absolute supremacy.<sup>104</sup>

But the two writers of these words were dissenting Highland ministers who were naturally hostile to him.

The basis of union was the Declaratory Acts, of 1879 for the United Presbyterians and 1892 for the Free Church. In both churches this was a response to a ‘revolt against the Calvinism or hyper-Calvinism of an earlier age’ on the part of the younger generation of ministers.<sup>105</sup> Theology was becoming less dogmatic and more philosophical in response to the growth of Biblical criticism which forced a renewed study of doctrine. The churches were also faced with ‘the moral counter-attack on Christianity’, especially the traditional doctrines of the atonement, predestination and eternal punishment.<sup>106</sup> Evangelical preaching of salvation through God’s free grace rather than election (emphasised during the nineteenth century revivals which will be

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<sup>103</sup> Burleigh, *Church History*, p.367

<sup>104</sup> Alexander Stewart and J Kennedy Cameron, *The Free Church of Scotland 1843-1910: A Vindication*, (Edinburgh: William Hodge 1910), p.53

<sup>105</sup> Burleigh, *Church History*, p.366

<sup>106</sup> Cheyne, *Transforming the Kirk*, p.73

discussed in the following chapter) also played a part. In passing these Acts both churches modified their adherence to the Westminster Confession as a subordinate standard of belief allowing liberty of opinion ‘on such points in the Standards, not entering into the substance of faith’.<sup>107</sup> While accepted unanimously by the United Presbyterians, mainly Highland congregations of the Free Church were opposed to union, adhering to the strict Calvinism of their founders. When the Assembly voted on the proposal on 30 October 1900 the result was 643 for union with 27 against, the minority taking the view that ‘by adopting the Uniting Act the majority had withdrawn from membership of the Free Church’.<sup>108</sup> The majority of the churches came together under the name of the United Free Church, with the minority retaining the Free Church title.

Principal Rainy had been elected Moderator of the Free Church in 1887, the first ‘non-Disruption’ minister to hold that office. In 1900 he was called as Moderator of the United Free Church at their first General Assembly.<sup>109</sup> This appointment was even more appropriate, as he was the sole survivor of the committee of the two Churches which had first met in 1863 to discuss a possible union. *The Scotsman* of 1 November 1900 gives extensive coverage to this momentous event of the previous day, which in some respects reversed the Disruption of 1843. The plan involved two separate marches; the Free Church Assembly from their courtyard at the top of the Mound were to walk down towards Princes Street and the United Presbyterians to process from the Synod Hall in Castle Terrace along Princes Street towards the

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<sup>107</sup> Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland 1874-1900*, (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press 1978), p.37 (Paragraph 7 of the UP Act)

<sup>108</sup> Stewart and Cameron, *Free Church*, p.110

<sup>109</sup> Mackintosh, *Principal Rainy*, pp. 98-99

National Gallery. The two bodies were to mingle together for the short march along to Waverley Market, where the joint Assembly inaugurating the United Free Church was to take place.

As is so often the case in Edinburgh, however, the weather had different ideas. Torrential rain meant that the fathers and brethren ‘were denied admittance to the quadrangle’, the gates of which were closed and guarded by several policemen and other officials.<sup>110</sup> After some confusion, it was agreed to assemble in the neighbouring Free High Church until it was time for the procession to depart. Few among the general public had braved the elements to gather on the Mound but on Princes Street crowds of spectators had begun to assemble at nine o’ clock, an hour before the appointed time for the two bodies to meet. Traffic had been stopped to allow the marches to proceed. In Castle Terrace, on the other hand, all was quiet, apart from ‘half a dozen policemen and a few ladies’ waiting outside the Synod Hall.<sup>111</sup> Finally the Free Church Moderator, Dr. Ross Taylor, and his predecessor led the way down the Mound in a silent and solemn procession. The United Presbyterians, their Moderator, senior churchmen and college professors, moved from their Hall ‘in a file of seemingly interminable length’ with the ordinary members of Synod coming last.<sup>112</sup> The merging of the two processions is described thus:

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<sup>110</sup> ‘The United Free Church of Scotland: Procession and Constitution of the First General Assembly’, *The Scotsman*, 1 November 1900, p.7

<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *ibid.*



Four minutes before half past ten the members of the Free Assembly [---] arrived at the west side of the National Gallery and a minute or two later the members of the United Presbyterian Synod [---] entered the Mound from Princes Street. On the two Moderators meeting they doffed their hats, bowed, and cordially shook hands, as did also the ex-Moderators. Then they joined arm in arm – a Free Churchman united with a United Presbyterian – and walked four abreast, the other processionists following in the same manner.<sup>113</sup>

So far one man had been missing. Then a few minutes later Principal Rainy joined the procession, forcing his way through the barrier to the place reserved for him.

The Waverley Market was prepared beforehand, as the Tanfield Hall had been in 1843. Seating had been provided for over six thousand and every ticket was taken. In attendance were distinguished visitors from the world-wide Presbyterian communion and representatives of other denominations, such as Congregationalists, Baptists and Methodists. The first of the ‘processionists’ arrived at the Market about fifteen minutes after the two bodies had merged. At eleven o’clock the Free Church and United Presbyterian General Assemblies were separately constituted by worship and prayer so that the Uniting Act, printed beforehand with copies for all, could be signed. Once this was done and rolls of membership had been laid on the table, the first Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland proceeded to elect its Moderator. Principal Rainy was the unanimous choice. Wearing his robes of office, he was ‘welcomed to the chair by the two ex-Moderators’.<sup>114</sup> So the non-established Presbyterian Churches finally, with the minor exception of a few dissenting voices,

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<sup>113</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *ibid.* p.8

gathered into one great river the streams of dissatisfaction that had since the Revolution Settlement at various times and for various reasons flowed out of the Church by law established.<sup>115</sup>

In contrast to the extensive coverage of the United Free Church Assembly, *The Scotsman*, in the same issue, reports briefly on the ‘Anti-Unionists’ who had the gates of the Free Assembly Hall and Free High Church ‘locked against them’.<sup>116</sup> They met in Queen Street Hall on the afternoon of 31 October, constituting themselves as the Free General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. About six hundred attended, including the general public, a large proportion of whom were ladies. However, the public were excluded while the Assembly ‘spent an hour considering their future action with regard to the property of the congregations’.<sup>117</sup> So began a protracted legal dispute over the distribution of the respective church properties which marred the long awaited union of the Free Church and United Presbyterians.

### **2.4.3 Postlude**

The union of the Church of Scotland and United Free Church did not take place until 1929, with the United Free being absorbed into the Church of Scotland. At the Church of Scotland Assembly Hall on the Lawnmarket, John White of the Barony Church, Glasgow and leader of the movement towards union, made the final speech of the pre-union gathering:

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<sup>115</sup> Burleigh, *Church History*, p.366

<sup>116</sup> *Scotsman*, p.9

<sup>117</sup> *ibid.*

We are taking the treasures of the past with us to enrich our future, and we go forward with full assurance of hope towards the new horizon to which our God of Hope is summoning us.<sup>118</sup>

Similarly, in the neighbouring United Free Assembly Hall on the Mound, Principal Martin of New College, their last Moderator, said:

The history of our undivided United Free Church is now at an end. With our historic claims fully met and satisfied we adjourn to rejoin our brethren from whom we have been separated so long. It is a common sorrow that we do not enter upon it with ranks unbroken. [---] May God over-ride and over-rule that which, in our infirmity, we have been unable to avert.<sup>119</sup>

Appropriately, both men had that day received the freedom of the City of Edinburgh.

On the following morning, 1 October 1929, processions from the two Assembly Halls met at Bank Street and together walked to St. Giles' for a preparatory service. In the afternoon 'the solemn act of uniting' took place in Annandale Street Hall. In moving the adoption of the documents, Lord Sands, who had negotiated the legal obstacles, said, 'It has been given to us to close one of the rents in the seamless robe'. Principal Martin and Dr. Joseph Mitchell, the Church of Scotland Moderator,

sealed and ratified [the Declaration of Union] using the quill pen with which the deed of separation at the Disruption of 1843 had been signed.<sup>120</sup>

John White was elected Moderator of the newly united Church of Scotland.

As in the earlier union, there were dissenting voices. Around 14,000 members remained outside the Union on the grounds that the Church of Scotland was not a

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<sup>118</sup> Muir, *John White*, p.264

<sup>119</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.* pp. 264-265

voluntary church. This minority formed the United Free Church Continuing, dropping 'Continuing' in 1934.<sup>121</sup> The dominance of Presbyterianism in the city of Edinburgh is evident from the following table (page 122) which compares its places of worship between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>122</sup> The four Free Churches in 1908-9 are those which remained outwith the United Presbyterian/Free Church union in 1900.

## 2.5 Episcopalians

The Episcopalian diocese of Edinburgh had been founded by Charles I, so, uniquely, was of post-Reformation origin.<sup>123</sup> However, the Scottish Episcopal Church suffered as a result of the deposition of James VII and II and the restoration of Presbyterian Church government in 1690. Despite this, dispossessed Episcopalian clergymen flocked to the city from the south of Scotland so that by 1716 there were at least thirteen meeting places in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood.<sup>124</sup>

The Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745-46 brought further trouble. Persecution after the latter was particularly severe. Episcopal clergy were forbidden to officiate unless they swore allegiance to the Hanoverian dynasty. They were also required to be ordained by a bishop of the English or Irish church, which nullified Scottish ordination.<sup>125</sup> Numbers were reduced to a mere remnant. It was not until 1766 that

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<sup>121</sup> James Barr, *The United Free Church of Scotland*, (London: Allenson, 1934), p.191

<sup>122</sup> Compiled from data in Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directories 1866-67 pp.437-440 and 1908-9 pp.869-875

<sup>123</sup> Marion Lochhead, *Episcopal Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: John Murray 1966), p.91

<sup>124</sup> David M Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy 1689-2000*, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark 2000), p.561

<sup>125</sup> Lochhead, *Episcopal Scotland*, pp. 30-31

## Edinburgh Places of Worship Compared

	<b>Year 1866-67</b>	<b>Year 1908-9</b>
<b>Church of Scotland</b>	26	46
<b>Free Church</b>	33	4
<b>United Presbyterian</b>	20	70
<b>United Free</b>		
<b>Original Seceders</b>	3	2
<b>Reformed Presbyterian</b>	1	
<b>Total Presbyterian</b>	<b>83 (70%)</b>	<b>122 (65%)</b>
<b>Episcopalians</b>	12	24
<b>Baptist</b>	7	10
<b>Congregationalist</b>	3	8
<b>Evangelical Union</b>	2	1
<b>Methodist</b>	3	5
<b>Glassite</b>	1	1
<b>Christian Church</b>	1	1
<b>German Church</b>	1	1
<b>Roman Catholic</b>	3	10
<b>Society of Friends</b>	1	1
<b>Unitarian</b>	1	1
<b>Jews' Synagogue</b>	1	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>189</b>

Scottish Episcopalians recovered sufficiently to organise themselves territorially into the Scottish Episcopal Church.<sup>126</sup>

One church, however, which remained loyal to the Jacobite cause was Old St. Paul's, situated in Carrubbers' Close, off the High Street. This church had been founded in 1689 by Bishop Rose who had been ejected from St. Giles by the Convention of Estates.<sup>127</sup> For a time, Old St. Paul's was the only Episcopal congregation within the city of Edinburgh. Unlike the later New Town churches, between a quarter and one third of its membership came from the poor and labouring classes, reflecting the neighbourhood in which it was situated.<sup>128</sup> John Wesley had attended communion there on Good Friday 1772

and was much moved by the devout behaviour of the congregation, the solemn reading of prayers, the excellent sermon.<sup>129</sup>

Their present building on Jeffrey Street, at the foot of Carrubber's Close, was built in 1883.

In 1792, an English, or 'qualified' congregation under the terms of the Toleration Act of 1712, met in West Register Street. In accordance with that Act, this church used the English liturgy and did not recognise the authority of the Bishop of Edinburgh. Five years later the congregation moved to Rose Street, naming their building Charlotte Chapel, because of its proximity to Charlotte Square. They united with the Scottish Episcopal Church in 1804, forming the Church of St. John the

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<sup>126</sup> Burleigh, *Church History*, p.277

<sup>127</sup> Bertie, *Episcopal Clergy*, p.568

<sup>128</sup> Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874*, (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press 1975), p. 60

<sup>129</sup> Lochhead, *Episcopal Scotland*, p.102

Evangelist, for which a new building was erected at the junction of Princes Street and Lothian Road, being consecrated in 1818.<sup>130</sup> As we shall see below, the Rose Street building was sold to Christopher Anderson who had founded an 'English' Baptist Church in Edinburgh in 1808. This single storey building must have been quite plain to enable its use by Baptists with little alteration.

Another strand of Scottish Episcopacy was St. Columba's in Johnston Terrace, just below Edinburgh Castle. It was founded 1846

for the benefit of the then unshepherded folk in the Old Town of Edinburgh and for the defence of the Scottish liturgy.<sup>131</sup>

Its first priest, John Alexander, had transferred from Old St. Paul's. He had been influenced by the Oxford Movement which, while advocating freedom from state intervention in church affairs, re-introduced certain Catholic practices into the Church of England in a more liturgical form of worship. St. Columba's was the first church in Edinburgh to celebrate the Eucharist every Sunday and also on Thursdays and saints days.<sup>132</sup> This church was notable for its care of the poor, especially children, as a 'ragged school' was started there three years before Dr. Guthrie's more famous enterprise, which will be considered in Chapter 4. A hundred and forty children were taught in a hall below St. Columba's, which they also attended each Sunday. The original antagonism to the perceived 'Popery' of its services

was quelled by 'a singular reaction in its favour' due to the zeal of its priest and his care for the poor.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Bertie, *Episcopal Clergy*, p.571

<sup>131</sup> *ibid.* p.569

<sup>132</sup> Lochhead, *Episcopal Scotland*, p.104

<sup>133</sup> *ibid.*

With the city's expansion during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, further Episcopal churches were erected. These churches usually began as mission stations formed by established congregations. Their style of architecture reflected the romanticism of the age and also the wealth of many of their middle- and upper-class adherents. For example, St. Paul's in York Place, opened in 1818, was a copy of King's College Chapel, Cambridge. This congregation had originated in 1708 in Half Moon Close, moved to Blackfriars Wynd in 1772, then to a new chapel in the Cowgate in 1774.<sup>134</sup> This Cowgate Chapel was for a time the 'largest and most fashionable Episcopal church in Edinburgh'.<sup>135</sup> After the Episcopalians moved to York Place, the Cowgate building was purchased by a United Secession congregation and then in 1856 it was sold to the Roman Catholics, becoming St. Patrick's Church.<sup>136</sup> By the early twentieth century there were twenty-four Episcopal congregations in Edinburgh, the highest concentration in Scotland. Their cathedral, situated prominently on Palmerston Place in the West End, was consecrated in 1879, 'a stately Gothic edifice, with three soaring spires'.<sup>137</sup> Part of the appeal of Episcopalianism in Edinburgh resulted from the anglicising tendency among the aristocracy, who sent their sons to English public schools, or to Glenalmond in Perthshire, which was Anglican in its ethos. With the Romantic Revival of the nineteenth century, too, people became dissatisfied with the 'bleak churches and

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<sup>134</sup> Bertie, *Episcopal Clergy*, p.574

<sup>135</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, I p. 278

<sup>136</sup> *ibid.* II pp.248-9

<sup>137</sup> Fleming, *1875-1929*, p. 154



unliturgical worship of the Scottish Church'.<sup>138</sup> Certainly among the upper classes of Edinburgh, Episcopalianism became fashionable.

## 2.6 Roman Catholicism

The third major group in nineteenth century Edinburgh was the Roman Catholic Church. Until the end of the eighteenth century Roman Catholicism was very much a persecuted, minority faith, surviving mainly in the Highlands. The situation was to change as central Scotland industrialised, attracting inward migration to the growing towns and cities. While most Highlanders moved to the more accessible west of Scotland, Edinburgh received its share. A Church of Scotland Gaelic Chapel was founded there in 1780 to cater for migrants of that faith, but the Highland diaspora possibly would have included a few Roman Catholics. The biggest wave of Roman Catholic migration came from Ireland after the disastrous failure of the potato crop in the 1840s. The scale of this flight from famine 'was unprecedented in the history of international migration'.<sup>139</sup> This exodus intensified a movement which was already under way with Britain, North America and Australia being the main destinations.<sup>140</sup> Given its proximity to Ireland, the major concentration of immigrants to Scotland was in and around Glasgow. While some then moved overseas, others had no option but to settle there or move to other areas of the country to seek casual employment wherever it was available.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Drummond and Bulloch, *1843-1874* p. 59

<sup>139</sup> David Fitzpatrick, 'Flight from Famine' in *The Great Irish Famine* ed. by Cathal Poirteir (Dublin: Mercier Press 1995), pp.174-184 (p.175)

<sup>140</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> Peter Gray, *The Irish Famine* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995, repr.2007), pp.110-111

The Irish brought a new cultural dimension into Scottish Roman Catholicism. The priests in the Highlands had lived on equal terms with the lairds and crofters, whether or not they shared their faith, and this attitude continued in the cities to which they had come. The immigrant Irish, including their priests who lived among them, were closely identified with the urban slums. The result was antagonism as the incomers competed with the existing population for whatever poorly paid work there was. By the 1880s the Roman Catholic Church had grown to be the largest Christian church in Scotland outside the Presbyterian denominations with 342,500 'baptised persons', two thirds of whom lived in the diocese of Glasgow.<sup>142</sup>

## **2.7 Independent Churches**

The eighteenth century saw the growth of independent churches and itinerant evangelism, which was frowned upon by the Established Church of Scotland because their leaders did not have the requisite university training to be ordained ministers, nor, humanly speaking, did they have anyone in authority over them to ensure that their teaching was orthodox.

### **2.7.1 Congregationalists**

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Greville Ewing and the brothers Robert and James Haldane began an itinerant preaching ministry throughout Scotland. Ewing had relinquished his charge as a Church of Scotland minister over the issue of the Christian's duty of obedience to the civil authority or to God in matters of religion. Both Haldane brothers had served in the navy. Robert owned the estate of Airthrey near Stirling, while his younger brother, James, was a naval

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<sup>142</sup> Drummond and Bulloch *1874-1900*, p.146

captain. In January 1799, following a visit to England, Ewing and James Haldane formed the first Congregational Church in Edinburgh, meeting as the Circus Church. James Haldane, although a layman, ‘by one voice’ was invited to be its minister.<sup>143</sup> On Sunday 3 February ‘by desire of the Church’ his ordination was conducted by Mr. Taylor of Osset, Yorkshire, Mr. Garie of Perth and Mr. Greville Ewing of Edinburgh, all ministers of the Gospel.<sup>144</sup> Following the model pioneered by the evangelist George Whitfield, shortly afterwards they erected the Tabernacle at the top of Leith Walk and moved there.

### **2.7.2 Baptists**

While there had been Baptists in Edinburgh and Leith during the mid-seventeenth century, with membership largely drawn from Cromwell’s army, these small fellowships did not survive its withdrawal in 1659 and the restoration of the Stewart monarchy a year later. As well as losing the majority of their members, the scattered congregations also faced persecution.<sup>145</sup> Almost one hundred years later, Robert Carmichael, an Antiburgher Secession minister, founded what became the first Scotch Baptist church.

Carmichael had been disciplined by his church when his views on the relationship between church and state changed. He had been influenced by John Glas, who had founded an independent church in Tealing, near Dundee. Carmichael subsequently resigned from the Secession Church and became a member of a

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<sup>143</sup> Alexander Haldane, *The Lives of Robert and James Haldane*, (London: 3<sup>rd</sup> edn 1853; repr. Edinburgh : Banner of Truth Trust, 1990), p.234

<sup>144</sup> *ibid.* p.237

<sup>145</sup> George Yuille ed. *History of the Baptists in Scotland from Pre-Reformation Times*, (Glasgow: Baptist Union Publication Committee, 1927), pp.33-34

Glassite church in Glasgow. On moving to Edinburgh, where he was employed as a printer, Carmichael formed an independent congregation there. However, he continued corresponding with Archibald McLean, a friend in Glasgow from a similar background. The particular subject of this correspondence was the question of baptism. After studying the Scriptures relating to the subject, Carmichael concluded that immersion of believers was the correct mode of baptism. Knowing no Baptists in Scotland, he travelled to London to be baptised by the renowned preacher Dr. Gill of Carter Bar and, on his return to Edinburgh in November 1765, he himself baptised seven members of his independent congregation who had come to share his views on baptism. Thus was formed the first Scotch Baptist Church with its distinctive form of church government.

They had a plurality of elders, at least two and occasionally three, who had pastoral oversight but were unpaid so continued in their secular employment. They celebrated the Lord's Supper weekly, as compared with the practice of bi-annual communion services in the Church of Scotland. McLean, too, came to Edinburgh in 1767 because of his employment, taking charge of a printing office. As he had come to share his friend's views on baptism, it was natural for him to join the infant church, and in June 1768 he was elected as co-pastor, a lay office which he held until his death in 1812.<sup>146</sup> McLean was responsible for setting in order several Scotch Baptist Churches and publicised their teaching through his writings. In accordance with their founders' Seccessionist roots, the Scotch Baptist Church was strictly Calvinist in its theology to begin with, although this was later modified.

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<sup>146</sup> Historical note in *Handbook of the Scotch Baptist Church Meeting in Bristo Place Edinburgh*, July 1875 (Records held by Bristo Baptist Church)

. In 1808 the Haldane brothers became convinced of believers' baptism and as a result the Congregational Church was divided. Those who agreed with the Haldanes formed a Baptist congregation which differed from the Scotch Baptists in having only one minister and in being more Arminian in theology. This church continued to meet in the Tabernacle until in 1864, as this 'was no longer useful as a meeting place', the congregation moved to a new building in Duncan Street in the Newington area.<sup>147</sup>

Also in 1808, a third strand of Scottish Baptist churches was formed. Christopher Anderson, whose half-brother and two nephews were members, and later in turn pastors (elders) of the Scotch Baptist Church, had spent much of his adult life in England in connection with the family business. When he returned to Scotland, therefore, he wished to form a Baptist Church on the 'English' model i.e. with one full-time pastor supported by the congregation. The church first met in Richmond Court, but when these premises became too small Anderson, as we have already noted, purchased from the Episcopalians Charlotte Chapel in Rose Street for a new place of worship to which the congregation moved in 1818. He continued to pastor the church until his death in 1852.

### **2.7.3 Evangelical Union**

Another group of churches were the Evangelical Union churches, constituted as a result of a schism within the United Secession Church. The cause of the schism lay in the teachings of James Morison, who had been influenced by the American evangelist Charles Finney, adopting Finney's views on salvation and evangelism.

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<sup>147</sup> Yuille, *History of the Baptists*, p.125

Morison came to believe in the universal atonement of Christ's death, not that salvation was for the elect only. As a result of this teaching, Morison and three other United Secession ministers, who shared his beliefs, had been deposed from their churches between 1841 and 1843, because of this apparent departure from the strict Calvinism of the Westminster Confession, the subordinate standard of faith in all the Scottish Presbyterian denominations. In 1843 the four ejected ministers formed the Evangelical Union, embracing an independent, congregational form of church government. By doing so they attracted nine churches from the Congregational Union, which had been formed in 1812, in 'a repudiation of the moderate Calvinism which was the unwritten creed of the denomination'.<sup>148</sup>

Among the seceding Congregational ministers was John Kirk. In March 1836, having joined an Independent church, the young Kirk had begun work as a missionary in Stirling in preparation for commencing study for the Congregational Church ministry in the following October. He was influenced by Finney's *Oberlin Evangelist* which had a wide circulation in Scotland. Indeed, Kirk became 'to some extent a pupil of Finney'.<sup>149</sup> In 1839 Kirk was ordained to his first charge, an Independent congregation in Hamilton, Lanarkshire

[where] he entered on his duties without arranging for any fixed salary, trusting to the generosity of the church.<sup>150</sup>

Along with Morison and four others Kirk conducted the 'series of protracted meetings' from 6 March 1845, which led to the formation of an Evangelical Union

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<sup>148</sup> Fleming, *1843-1874*, p.49

<sup>149</sup> Kirk, *Memoirs*, p.155

<sup>150</sup> *ibid.* p.157

church in Edinburgh.<sup>151</sup> The congregation first met in the Waterloo Rooms where on 4 July seventy-five members were

publicly recognised as a church and observed the ordinance of the Lord's Supper for the first time. The interesting and solemn services were conducted by Messrs Kirk, Kennedy, and Morison.<sup>152</sup>

Kirk was an obvious choice to pastor the new church, to which he was inducted on 23 October 1845. Despite opposition, particularly from Presbyterians, the Evangelical Union congregation drew members from other churches throughout the city and surrounding villages. Growth was such that they were able to by 'a commodious place of worship' in Brighton Street.<sup>153</sup> There the church continued to flourish and by April 1849 the roll numbered 668.<sup>154</sup> This phenomenal rate of growth was appropriate for a denomination 'designed to foment revivals'.<sup>155</sup> The influence of this church in the 1859 revival, when Kirk invited Finney to Edinburgh, will be examined in Chapter 3.

#### **2.7.4 Smaller Groups**

Akin to the Scotch Baptists, from whom they attracted some members, were the Brethren, who also emphasised lay leadership and Calvinist theology. A group had been meeting in Edinburgh for a few years before, in 1838, they invited John Nelson

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<sup>151</sup> *ibid.* p.222

<sup>152</sup> *ibid.* p.223

<sup>153</sup> *ibid.* p.228

<sup>154</sup> *ibid.* p.235

<sup>155</sup> D.W Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1780s*, (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p.116

Darby, the most influential leader of the movement, to visit them.<sup>156</sup> Darby taught that

true believers should separate from the professing Church to await the imminent return of Christ [emphasising] an entire dependence on the Holy Spirit [leading] to unity among Christians.<sup>157</sup>

However, the Brethren divided into the Open Brethren, those who had fellowship with Christians from other denominations who shared their beliefs, and the stricter Exclusive Brethren, who withdrew from contact with all other Christians. In addition to the original Edinburgh meeting, which possibly became Exclusive in 1848, lasting Brethren fellowships were formed during our period of review at Bruntsfield and Bellevue in 1874 and 1891 respectively, while others also emerged but were shortlived.<sup>158</sup>

Attracted to the Edinburgh Brethren in the 1830s was Caroline, wife of the seventh Marquis of Queensberry, although this was unusual for someone of her social position. She was involved in philanthropic work, especially among prostitutes.<sup>159</sup> As we shall see in Chapter 3, Lady Queensberry also gave financial support to the evangelists Richard Weaver and Reginald Radcliffe during their visit to Carrubber's Close in 1860. She later converted to Roman Catholicism.

A more controversial figure was Edward Irving, a minister of the Church of Scotland who had been appointed assistant to Thomas Chalmers at St John's,

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<sup>156</sup> Neil T. R. Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland 1838-2000: A Social Study of an Evangelical Movement*, (Milton Keynes: Paternoster 2002), pp. 27-28

<sup>157</sup> *ibid.* p.28

<sup>158</sup> *ibid.* Appendix 3 Edinburgh p.416

<sup>159</sup> *ibid.* p.29



Glasgow, in 1819. In 1821 he was called to a Church of Scotland charge in London, where his success as a preacher attracted large crowds, necessitating the building of a new church in Regents Square a few years later. In 1833, however, Irving was deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland. The grounds of this action were his heterodox teachings on the human nature of Christ, whom he held had the propensity to sin. There was also unhappiness in the Church of Scotland with his views on the Second Coming of Christ, which he considered to be imminent, and his encouragement of speaking in tongues and miraculous healing, although he himself never practiced these spiritual manifestations. In some respects Irving anticipated the Pentecostal movement which began in the early twentieth century. After his expulsion Irving helped to found the Catholic Apostolic Church, although his early death in 1834 meant that he did not play a part in its growth. The new Church remained small, however, with a single Edinburgh congregation meeting first in a 'plain Ionic edifice' in what is now Broughton Street. A new building, 'a conspicuous and spacious edifice,' was erected at the corner of East London Street and opened 'with much ceremony' in April 1876.<sup>160</sup> This building was well suited to the highly liturgical form of worship which characterised the Catholic Apostolic Church. Although no longer used as a place of worship, the East London Street building remains famous for its murals by the Irish born artist, Phoebe Traquair.

One of the more exotic churches to be found in nineteenth-century Edinburgh was the Church of the New Jerusalem based on the teaching of Emanuel Swedenborg, (1688-1772) a Lutheran from Sweden. He taught that the Second Advent and Last Judgement had taken place in 1757, thereby establishing the 'New

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<sup>160</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, II, pp.184-5

Church'.<sup>161</sup> Swedenborg's teaching reached Scotland in 1769 when the Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University received a parcel of his books from a friend. The New Church movement therefore began with interested people coming together to study Swedenborg's philosophy through these writings. Further impetus came from press advertisements. The Edinburgh Society of the New Church, or Swedenborgians, was formed in 1815 under the lay leadership of a retired London barrister, Mr. T. Parker. Within two years, following a visit from Rev. Robert Hindmarsh from London, the church had between fifty and sixty members, known as Receivers.<sup>162</sup> Parker died in 1829 and Rev. William Bruce was ordained and became pastor of the Edinburgh Society, the first New Church minister in Scotland. He left Edinburgh in 1851. From 1853 the Church met in Infirmary Street, then in 1905 moved to Picardy Place. For most of that period services were conducted by Leaders and students until, in 1880, Rev. W. A. Presland was inducted. The Countess of Hopetoun was among those interested in the New Church during his pastorate.<sup>163</sup>

## 2.8 Other Religions

While the focus of my thesis is on the various Christian denominations, other religions were practised in nineteenth-century Edinburgh. Perhaps the most important of these was Judaism. A few Jews had settled in the city as early as the seventeenth century.<sup>164</sup> By the early nineteenth century they had grown sufficiently

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<sup>161</sup> Archibald Macwhirter, 'The Church of the New Jerusalem in Scotland', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* Vol. XII (1958) 202-219 (p.202)

<sup>162</sup> *ibid.* p.206

<sup>163</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> Salis Daiches, 'The Jew in Scotland', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* Vol. III (1929) 196-209 (p.197)

in numbers to establish a synagogue in 1816, meeting in a small hall in Richmond Court under the leadership of Moses Joel, who came from London. This remained their place of worship for over fifty years. In the same street, however, a splinter group, the “Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation” met between 1833 and 1840, occupying a building which had been a Baptist Church.<sup>165</sup> (As noted above, Christopher Anderson’s congregation met in Richmond Court before moving to Charlotte Chapel.)

As well as from London, these nineteenth-century immigrants also came from the Baltic ports and Prussia, so reinforcing the links the port of Leith had with that area. They were mainly tradesmen dealing in clothing, furs and jewellery. Some taught Hebrew to divinity students. The greatest influx of Jews, however, came as refugees from the Russian pogroms of the late nineteenth century. Although most settled in Glasgow, several came to Edinburgh, necessitating a larger synagogue which they acquired at Lauriston Place in 1896.<sup>166</sup>

Salis Daiches arrived in Edinburgh in 1919 with his young family to take up office as the rabbi of the Hebrew Congregation. He was a distinguished scholar and ‘virtual though not nominal head of Scottish Jewry’.<sup>167</sup> One of his sons, David, became a university professor while the other, Lionel, was an advocate. This family is an example of how the Jewish community integrated successfully into the life of their adopted home.

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<sup>165</sup> *ibid.* pp. 203-4

<sup>166</sup> *ibid.* p.204-5

<sup>167</sup> David Daiches, *Two Worlds*, (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd. 1957; repr. Edinburgh: Canongate Classics 1987) , p.5

From the mid-nineteenth century there was a growing interest in the occult, particularly spiritualism. Although some formed themselves into ‘spiritualist churches’ their practices were not Christian. The movement was especially attractive to women, both working- and middle-class. The former saw in their mediumship or healing ministry the means of lucrative employment and a status which was not available to them elsewhere. For the middle class woman spiritualism provided a ‘means of circumventing rigid nineteenth-century class and gender norms’.<sup>168</sup> ‘Churches’ were locally based and their membership reflected the areas in which they were situated. Edinburgh had several in various parts of the city. Imitating the more orthodox churches, the spiritualists had lyceums, or Sunday schools for children, while the adults attended ‘services’.

A more secretive, occult organisation was the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn which was founded in the 1880s by three freemasons. The Order was an amalgam of ancient mysticism, astrology, mediaeval alchemy and divination. Its most famous adherent was the Irish poet, William Butler Yeats. Their temples, established in a few towns as well as in London, were named after Egyptian deities. Edinburgh’s was the Amen-Ra.<sup>169</sup> As with freemasonry, the Order was very hierarchical in structure with initiates progressing through various grades. Members were predominantly middle class, especially from the arts. Because of its secret nature very little is known about the Order.

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<sup>168</sup> Alex Owen, *The Darkened Room: Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England*, (London: Virago Press 1989; repr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2004), p.4

<sup>169</sup> Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2004), p.54

## Conclusion

This historical overview has revealed the rich denominational variety available to the people of Edinburgh between 1850 and 1905. Among Scottish Presbyterians, schism had been endemic for generations, although, as we have seen, the independent churches were not immune. The fragmentation of the established Church into several denominations had an unintended consequence, to be considered in Chapter 4, as government at local, and later national, level took over responsibility for education and social welfare which had hitherto been under the control of the Church. The weakness of the established Church encouraged the state to assume control over these functions, which became increasingly secularised.

As the franchise was extended, the locus of political power shifted from the landed gentry to the middle classes of the towns and cities. The churches, too, became more democratic. The Disruption of 1843 brought hostility to landowners into sharp focus as peers refused to give land for buildings to the Free Church. The Duke of Buccleuch was ‘regarded as a major culprit’.<sup>170</sup> This continued animosity may have played a part in the defeat of his heir, the Earl of Dalkeith, when Gladstone won Midlothian, as was noted in Chapter 1.

In his study of religion and social class in Aberdeen during this period, Allan MacLaren has suggested that the early seceders from Scottish Presbyterianism were

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<sup>170</sup> I. G. C. Hutchison, ‘The Nobility and Politics in Scotland, c.1880-1939’ in *Scottish Elites* ed. by T. M. Devine, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd. 1994), pp. 131-151 (p.135)

mainly lower middle class, especially shopkeepers and tradesmen.<sup>171</sup> Similarly, those who formed the Free Church in the cities

represented a class not only prosperous enough to provide their [ministers'] stipends but also by their financial contributions to support the greater part of the highland clergy.<sup>172</sup>

As will be seen from the case studies in Chapter 5, Edinburgh Presbyterians followed this pattern, although the concentration of legal and medical men in the city gave the Church in Edinburgh a more prosperous social base.

Richard Niebuhr, in *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, suggested that denominationalism represents 'the accommodation of Christianity to the caste-system of human society'.<sup>173</sup> He shows that the various churches split into sects in accordance with 'their conformity to the order of social classes and castes'.<sup>174</sup> In a sense, therefore, the Christian church failed, becoming secularised and, where there was a national or transnational church, politicised. Denominationalism originated to meet the social needs of the people.

This social division is particularly evident in most Edinburgh churches where the majority of members were from the middle and upper classes with the poor seldom in the pews. Reasons for this are largely economic and educational. The gap between clergy and people of the various denominations can be judged from the following details of annual stipends paid during the 1830s and 1840s. Edinburgh city ministers in the Church of Scotland were the highest paid with £548 in 1835. After the

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<sup>171</sup> MacLaren, *Disruption Years*, p.27

<sup>172</sup> *ibid.* p.30

<sup>173</sup> H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company 1929), p.6

<sup>174</sup> *ibid.* p.25

Disruption in 1843, the Free Church aimed to pay their ministers a minimum of £150, although wealthy congregations paid more. Seceders received between £160 and £566, while Episcopalians in New Town charges were paid between £500 and £600. On the other hand the rector of Old St. Paul's received only £125, poor in comparison. However, when measured against the skilled working man's weekly wage of £1, these sums were far beyond anything he could imagine.<sup>175</sup> In the highly stratified society of Victorian Edinburgh this income differential would create an unbridgeable gulf between clergy and people. Only the celibate Roman Catholic priests, who received about £40 per annum, shared the living standards of their parishioners.<sup>176</sup>

Educationally, too, especially within Presbyterianism, there was a great disparity. The Scottish minister required an arts degree before undertaking a further course of theological study. His erudition was often reflected in sermons which the working man could not understand. As we shall see in Chapter 3, this style of preaching contrasted with the simple appeal of evangelists like Richard Weaver in the 1860s or Dwight L. Moody ten years later in reaching the masses with the gospel.

Concern for the unchurched masses of the wynds and closes of the Old Town led to the formation of the Edinburgh City Mission in 1832. This interdenominational society was supported by evangelical churches throughout the city. It appointed agents to give pastoral care to the people in their own homes. Services were held in the lands (tenements) so that the people were in familiar surroundings, not

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<sup>175</sup> Figures from Drummond and Bulloch, *1873-74*, p.61

<sup>176</sup> *ibid.* p.74

intimidated by a forbidding looking edifice, and among neighbours with whom they felt comfortable. The work of the City Mission will be discussed in Chapter 7.

The churches of Edinburgh, therefore, covered a wide variety of religious, social and cultural functions but these were regarded differently. For the majority of Church of Scotland members, Episcopalians or the Roman Catholics, their faith was one into which they had been born. In their initial years, the Presbyterian Secession and Free Churches attracted people who were convinced of the rightness of their cause. Voluntary independent churches, such as Congregationalists or Baptists, were formed because people saw a distinction between church and state or emphasised a particular doctrine which they regarded as more true to Biblical teaching. A personal experience of conversion was a prerequisite of membership, evidenced in their behaviour. The voluntary church was one which its members chose to join freely. This crucial difference between the inclusive, national church and the exclusive nature of the other denominations will be brought out as we examine individual churches in Chapter 5. Before then, in the next chapter, we consider the effects of the nineteenth century revival movements in Edinburgh, while in Chapter 4 we look at the social concerns of the churches.



## **CHAPTER 3: TIMES OF REVIVAL**

### **Introduction**

As indicated in the previous chapter, by the mid-nineteenth century Edinburgh was a city of many denominations. Some, like Methodists, Baptists and Congregationalists, had grown out of itinerant evangelism and the influence of the eighteenth-century preachers like John Wesley, George Whitefield and their successors. The divisions among Presbyterianism arose mainly from conflicts arising from state interference in ecclesiastical government, although there were also doctrinal differences. Yet, despite these, each denomination saw the Church's main task to present the gospel. Revivals were regarded as times of special blessing in this respect. The principal national outbreaks during the period under review occurred in 1859-60, 1873-74 and 1905. This chapter will examine the origins and outcomes of these revivals on the Edinburgh churches, with particular congregations considered in more detail to determine similarities and differences.

### **3.1 Definitions of Revival**

What is a revival? Any examination of religious revival must begin with its definition. Evan Roberts, a key figure in the Welsh revival of 1905, set out four conditions for revival.

First: The past must be clear: every sin confessed to God. Any wrong put upon any man must be made right.

Second: Everything doubtful must be removed once and for all out of our lives.

Third: Obedience prompt and implicit to the Holy Spirit

Fourth: Public confession must be made of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

For Roberts, revival begins with a public awareness and confession of sin which leads the unconverted to turn to Christ for salvation and renews or re-awakens the spiritual life of those already Christian. As will be seen below, these conditions owe much to the teaching of an American evangelist of an earlier generation, Charles Finney. A more recent definition is ‘the reassertion or rediscovery of aspects of doctrine or practice which have been neglected in the life of a congregation or Church’.<sup>2</sup>

A mid nineteenth-century view of revival was given in 1860 by Robert Rainy, then minister of the Free High Church, Edinburgh, who, as noted in the previous chapter, would later become principal of New College and one of the Free Church’s most distinguished leaders. He defined revival in ‘a narrow and technical sense’ as the ‘*awakening or rekindling of religious feeling in a community*’.<sup>3</sup> He expands this to state how the evangelicals of his day thought on the subject:

as used now in the evangelical churches the word expresses that state of things in which the divine life appears to be deepened and made more energetic in believers, and in which the Church gains over to repentance a notable number of those who have been careless or hostile. As everything spiritually good in man is ascribed, in evangelical churches, to the Holy Spirit, the word Revival, as used in them, carries a reference to His agency.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> W. T. Stead, *The Revival of 1905* (London: “The Review of Reviews” Publishing Office, 1905), p.53

<sup>2</sup> D.E. Meek, ‘Revivals’ in *DSCHT*, pp. 711-718 ( p.712)

<sup>3</sup> Robert Rainy, ‘Revivals’ *North British Review* 33 (1860), 486-512 (p.487) Italics as in original.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

For Rainy and his like-minded contemporaries, the work of the Holy Spirit was essential to revival. The question of whether the resulting phenomena were indeed of the Spirit was to cause continuing divisions among those in favour of, and those opposed to, revivals in the Church. Some, too, while supporting the revival movements generally, were opposed to the methods used. These controversies will be examined later in this chapter, as we consider some case studies.

### **3.2 Early Influences**

While there had been earlier revivals in Scottish history, these were essentially local in character and based on the Presbyterian communion season, which were held once or twice a year in most parishes and thus constituted

an infrequent event when thought was concentrated on the ultimate issues of sin and salvation, so stirring many attenders to fresh commitment.<sup>5</sup>

Examples are Kirk o' Shotts in 1630, Mullin, near Pitlochry in 1798, and, in 1839, St Peter's, Dundee, even though the minister, Robert Murray McCheyne, was in Palestine at the time. Although the revivals at Cambuslang and Kilsyth in 1742-43 were centred on the communion season, they had also benefited from the fervent preaching of George Whitefield, an Anglican and close associate of John and Charles Wesley. Whitefield recently had spent some time in America, where he was influenced by Jonathan Edwards, under whose ministry in Northampton, Massachusetts, the Great Awakening had found one early flashpoint in 1734. Edwards offered pastoral guidance to those who 'claimed to have undergone a

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<sup>5</sup> David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody*, (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2005), p. 99

decisive spiritual experience'.<sup>6</sup> He assured them that they were really Christian if, following an interview, he was satisfied that their conversion was genuine.

Whitefield had come to Scotland at the end of July 1741. This visit, the first of fourteen preaching tours he was to make in Scotland, lasted for thirteen weeks,

with preaching services every day, long private discussions with troubled people, and the arduous toil of writing many letters, often after 'the clock has struck twelve'.<sup>7</sup>

Describing his programme, he wrote to a friend on 15 August,

It would make your heart leap for joy, to be now in Edinburgh. [...] Every morning I have a constant levee of wounded souls [...] At seven in the morning, we have a lecture in the fields, attended not only by the common people, but persons of great rank. I have reason to think several of the latter sort are coming to Jesus [...] Congregations consist of many thousands. [...] I preach twice daily, and expound at private houses at night, and am employed in speaking to souls under distress great part of the day.<sup>8</sup>

Whitefield's practice of personal counselling, a new departure, was to be taken up by the nineteenth-century evangelists.

The close association between Scotland and America in evangelism increased during the nineteenth century as transport and communication improved and emigration intensified. However, this cross-fertilisation of theological ideas was not without its problems, as there was a definite doctrinal clash between the staunchly Calvinistic Presbyterian ministers in Scotland and the Arminianism of the independent evangelists.

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<sup>6</sup> D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1780s*, (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p.47

<sup>7</sup> Arthur Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century*, (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1971; repr.1996), p.101

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* pp. 101-102 (Quoting *George Whitfield Works* Vol I, pp.315-6)

For the uncompromising Calvinist, God's divine will was absolute; some had been eternally elected for salvation while others were eternally condemned. Whether or not a man was saved, therefore, was predetermined (predestined) and nothing he could do could alter this state. Further, he could have no assurance of whether he was among the saved or the damned. As a result evangelism was not encouraged.

Following the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, with its more rationalist approach to religion, and an intellectual movement also influenced by the teaching of Edwards, Scottish 'hyper- Calvinism' was modified to give a greater emphasis on preaching the gospel to all in the expectation that the hearer would respond. While only the elect would have their hearts open to receive this gospel offer, this preaching did not deny the atoning sufficiency of Christ's death for the sins of the whole world.

Opposed to this evangelical Calvinism was Arminianism, which understood conversion as a free human response to the gospel, rather than as something eternally predestined by divine decree. In other words, having heard the gospel, each person was responsible either to accept or reject it. This emphasis on free will and individual response stressed the importance of evangelism to bring the gospel to as many people as possible.

A key figure in the development of a revivalist Calvinism was Charles Finney. Born in Connecticut in 1792, Finney grew up in New York, where, in 1821, following an 'intense religious experience' he gave up a promising law career to become an itinerant evangelist, having been ordained as a Presbyterian minister.<sup>9</sup> He later espoused Congregationalism. Finney's most influential role, however, was as

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<sup>9</sup> Charles Grandison Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* ed. by William G. McLoughlin, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. viii

Professor of Theology, and later President, of Oberlin College in Ohio, where he was to remain until his death in 1875. From Oberlin, initially in the *Evangelist*, he published his sermons and lectures, many of which were on the subject of revivals. In the 1840s he had conducted several successful revival meetings in America and in 1849-50 he made his first visit to England.

Finney's *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, published in America in 1835, also became very popular in Britain. It has been suggested that this series of lectures, which had been delivered over twenty-two weeks in 1834, 'was a practical handbook that marked a turning point in the history of religious movements.'<sup>10</sup> Finney had stated that

[a revival of religion] is not a miracle, or dependent on a miracle in any sense. It is a purely philosophical result of the right use of the constituted means, as much so as any other effect produced by the application of means. There may be a miracle among its antecedent causes or there may not. [...] The revivals in the apostles' days were connected with miracles, but they were not miracles.<sup>11</sup>

For Finney, the essentials of successful revivals were the corporate repentance on the part of the church, the personal repentance of individuals and the restoration of backslidden Christians leading to the renewal of their faith.<sup>12</sup> Given these conditions, revivals could be encouraged and planned for, rather than be expected to happen spontaneously; the way could be prepared for the downpouring of the Holy Spirit. Among the techniques he advocated were direct conversionist preaching,

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<sup>10</sup> Kenneth S. Jeffrey, *When the Lord Walked the Land: The 1858-62 Revival in the North East of Scotland*, (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2002), p.15

<sup>11</sup> Finney, *Lectures on Revivals*, p.13

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.* pp. 15-16

prolonged prayer meetings, including prayers for the conversion of individuals by name, and the 'anxious seat' for the 'troubled sinner in search of salvation.'<sup>13</sup> Some of these practices were to be adopted in Edinburgh.

### 3.3 Beginnings

The mid nineteenth-century revival in Scotland covered the period 1858 to 1862. In November 1858, stimulated by news of an awakening that began in New York and then spread across the United States, revival began in Aberdeen.<sup>14</sup> A few months earlier, in July 1858, the Presbyterian Church in Ireland had agreed to send two ministers to the United States to learn about the revival there, at the same time encouraging prayer for revival in their own congregations. Their initiative bore fruit as in March 1859, during a communion season, revival broke out in the village of Ahoghill, County Antrim.<sup>15</sup> This predominantly rural revival soon spread to the towns of Ulster, where the Irish Presbyterian Church had close ties with their Scottish counterparts. Reports of the excitement generated, published in the local newspapers, were sent to Scotland along with family letters describing the events. In response, between June and October 1859, a large number of ministers and laymen from the British mainland travelled to Ulster to examine for themselves the truth of these reports. Out of one hundred of the visiting British clergymen identified, forty per cent came from Scotland, the great majority of whom were Free Church.<sup>16</sup> Among these sent by the Free Church Assembly to observe the movement and visit

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<sup>13</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p.116

<sup>14</sup> Jeffrey, *When the Lord Walked*, p.57

<sup>15</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire*, p.216

<sup>16</sup> Janice Holmes, *Religious Revival in Britain and Ireland 1859-1905*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000), p.22

the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland in May 1859 was Dr. James Begg of Newington. He became ‘thoroughly convinced that the movement was a remarkable work of grace,’ and returned to Ireland at the end of the summer, being frequently mentioned as taking part in revival meetings.<sup>17</sup> Newington Free Church then became one of the Edinburgh churches where there was ‘a deep and growing earnestness’ as people met to pray for revival.<sup>18</sup> Begg reported weekly to his own congregation on the work and progress of the various revival meetings, or introduced other speakers who did so, but his biographer notes:

although subsequently Dr. Begg rightly or wrongly, considered himself precluded from taking part in certain revival movements by his disapproval of some of the methods of conducting the services connected with them, he never ceased to take the warmest interest in the revival of religion in his own church and country, and in other churches and other lands.<sup>19</sup>

While the grounds for Begg’s caution are not stated, this comment illustrates the ambivalent approach of some ministers to the revival in welcoming its results but having doubts about the methods used.

While the main movement covered the period 1858 to 1860, revivalism had been an important topic among some ministers much earlier. Probably influenced by Finney’s teaching, in 1840 Scottish evangelical leaders had delivered a series of lectures over fourteen weeks in Glasgow. With the title ‘The Revival of Religion’, these lectures had been published in the same year.<sup>20</sup> Three Edinburgh ministers had

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<sup>17</sup> Thomas Smith, *James Begg* II, pp. 273-4

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, p. 276

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *The Revival of Religion: Addresses by Scottish Evangelical Leaders delivered in Glasgow in 1840* ed. by W.M.H., (Glasgow: William Collins & Co., 1840; repr. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1984)



contributed to the series: A. Moody Stuart of St. Luke's, R.S. Candlish of St. George's and Charles J. Brown of New North. These men had represented the evangelical wing of the Church of Scotland. As we saw in Chapter 2, Candlish, in particular, later took a prominent role in the Ten Years' Conflict leading to the Disruption of 1843. While in some respects it could be said that the protracted struggle over the Church's independence hindered its witness, in other ways it was strengthened, as the Free Church gained generous financial support from its adherents in erecting its own churches and schools. Edinburgh therefore had a firm evangelical base on which to build for revival.

### **3.4 Edinburgh 1858-1860**

Unlike earlier revivals, which had been essentially rural in character, those of 1858-60 and later were based on the cities. Immigration from country to town increased as the economy became more industrialised. Changing patterns of employment meant that people no longer had the leisure to attend the protracted communion seasons of earlier years. Society was more fragmented, as the middle classes moved to the suburbs and the poor remained in their crowded tenements. For the middle classes, church attendance became a badge of respectability. The emotionalism which had characterised the eighteenth-century spiritual awakenings was no longer acceptable. On the other hand, it seemed that many of the poor were hardly touched by the churches. A different approach was necessary to cope with the challenges of these social and cultural shifts.

The revival which began in Edinburgh in late 1859 was preceded by a time of preparation by means of a united prayer meeting held each Monday for twenty-one

months from April 1858. Ministers from the three Presbyterian denominations, Church of Scotland, Free Church and United Presbyterians, came together. By January 1860, with revival proceeding apace, the prayer meetings were held daily.<sup>21</sup> The effect on Edinburgh is described by Charles Brown as follows:

Ever since the tide of this movement has come up at length to this proud city of ours [...] what spontaneous assemblies are found listening to God's word, not from the lips of famous and accomplished preachers, but of very plain men<sup>22</sup>

As one of the 'accomplished preachers' Brown seems to be welcoming this innovation. Meetings were highly organised and catered for all classes, who had come together to attend these united prayer meetings.

### **3.5 Examples of Revival**

The effects of the 1859-60 revival in Edinburgh can be illustrated by the contrasting experiences of two congregations. In the former, a non-denominational mission situated in one of the High Street's numerous closes or lands, revival emerged spontaneously, and followed its own momentum. The other type of experience occurred in a church which had been founded on the principle of aggressive evangelism, where revival was expected and planned for.

#### **3.5.1 Carrubber's Close Mission**

William Robertson, a young teacher from East Gorbals School, Glasgow, had been appointed on 4 September 1859 as headmaster of Pilrig School, which was then

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<sup>21</sup> J. Edwin Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain*, (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., 1949; repr. 1953), p.73

<sup>22</sup> NCL Special Collections Ja/8 Ecclesiastical Questions, Charles J Brown, *God's voice to us in the present spiritual movement* (Edinburgh: pamphlet privately printed 19 November 1860), p.5

under the auspices of Pilrig Free Church. Shortly after his appointment, his former colleagues and pupils in Glasgow wrote telling him of

an awakening in the school, and of prayer-meetings which were being held by the children in the middle of the day.<sup>23</sup>

As a result, some of the older Gorbals pupils were converted and they told Robertson of their experiences, including in their narrative a message for his present Pilrig pupils. When Robertson read these letters to his senior Pilrig pupils, they, too, asked for a mid-day prayer meeting in one of their classrooms. The minister, Rev. William G. Blaikie, gave his permission on condition that Robertson personally conducted the meeting.<sup>24</sup> (As we shall see below, Blaikie was also to play an important role in the visit of Moody and Sankey in 1873-74.) In November, both Robertson and his assistant teacher experienced conversion, and after that, as Robertson related, there were mass conversions among the children.<sup>25</sup>

As well as teaching in Pilrig School, William Robertson joined the staff of Carrubber's Close Mission at the end of 1859, assisting with secretarial work and evangelism. This Mission had been founded the previous year by James Gall junior, a publisher in partnership with his father, James Gall, senior. The Mission used Whitefield Chapel, Carrubber's Close, off the High Street, to provide education and religious instruction for the poor children of the neighbourhood. It was operated as a non-denominational venture under the leadership of the younger Gall, who had previously organised outreach and Sunday School work for Lady Glenorchy's

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<sup>23</sup> *William Robertson of the Carrubber's Close Mission: Reminiscences of a Life of Blessing* ed. by Rev. R. M. Robertson [his son], (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1914), p.17

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* p.18

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.* pp. 25-34

congregation. In 1861 he was ordained by the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh as minister of Moray Church in the Canongate. He retired from this pastorate in 1871 'but did not cease from his evangelistic labours'.<sup>26</sup> He continued to serve as superintendent, later president, of Carrubber's until his death in February 1895 at the age of eighty-six.<sup>27</sup>

Under Gall's leadership the work of Carrubber's expanded to include educational classes for young men, separate classes for women and girls, a medical mission and a dispensary, the latter being led for a time by Dr. James Young Simpson, the celebrated pioneer of the use of chloroform in childbirth. The religious side was not forgotten: as well as Sunday services, there were various other meetings for prayer and Bible study. All that was required of the Mission workers was that they be 'consistent members of some evangelical Church and be introduced to us by one of our number'.<sup>28</sup> Accordingly, the ethos of the Mission was based firmly on 'voluntary work and unsectarianism'.<sup>29</sup> Here was Victorian evangelical philanthropy in action, as the middle- and upper-class activists sought to improve the lives of those in one of the poorest parts of the city.

The revival which centred on Carrubber's was conducted initially by members of the Mission. For the next several months there was

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<sup>26</sup> *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland 1843-1900* ed. by Rev. William Ewing D.D., 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1914), I, p.164

<sup>27</sup> Anon. *These Fifty Years: The Story of Carrubber's Close Mission Edinburgh 1858-1909*, (Edinburgh: The Tract and Colportage Society of Scotland, 1909), p. 42

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.* p.12

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.* p.14

no meeting at which there were not some conversions. Night after night the careless became earnest, the earnest became convicted, and the convicted at length found peace in the blood of Jesus.<sup>30</sup>

Such were the crowds wishing to attend the meetings that soon the building was too small. It was suggested that the leaders seek permission to meet in the old Theatre Royal, which was due to be demolished to make way for a new Post Office. The Lord Provost, F. Brown Douglas, therefore petitioned the British government for the use of the Theatre and this was granted. When the building had to be vacated, the recently opened Free Assembly Hall was given for the meetings, again through the Lord Provost's influence. The Hall was densely packed and the New College quadrangle crowded as 'Edinburgh was stirred to its very depths by an anxiety to hear the simple gospel'.<sup>31</sup> The normal work of the Mission was set aside to concentrate on the revival services which occupied every room in the building. Special meetings were arranged for young men, young women and 'mechanics and journeymen of various trades'.<sup>32</sup> Thus the different sections of the Mission's activities were catered for.

Revival excitement continued in Edinburgh for nearly a year, reaching a peak in October 1860 with the visit of Richard Weaver and Reginald Radcliffe, full-time English evangelists. Weaver was born in a Shropshire mining village in 1827 and began work in the mines at the age of seven. His conversion in 1852 was immediately followed by his preaching, under the influence of Primitive Methodists

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<sup>30</sup> *ibid.* p.21

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.* p.23

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*

who encouraged lay leadership. R. C. Morgan, publisher of the journal *The Revival*, described Weaver as

having converted more people than any revivalist since George Whitefield [and] the most prominent of the working-men preachers.<sup>33</sup>

Radcliffe, born in 1825, was the sixth son of a Liverpool lawyer, and thus from a much more prosperous background than that of his partner. His Anglicanism, too, made him an unlikely preacher, as he was not ordained. His 'spiritual home' was the Liverpool Town Mission, from which he began preaching in the 1850s.<sup>34</sup> Weaver and Radcliffe joined forces for preaching tours in northern England which attracted widespread attention. With their arrival in Edinburgh the character of the revival movement changed, as the following programme for a week of special services, on a scale hitherto unknown, shows.

#### PRAYER MEETINGS

On Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday the TRON CHURCH will be opened for prayer ALL DAY, from Ten o'clock in the Morning.

God's people are earnestly requested to attend and take part in these Meetings, that a united and persevering cry may ascend for a great Outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

#### OPEN-AIR PREACHING

There will be Open-Air preaching in the Queen's Park on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, at Eleven o'clock, and will be continued during the day.

The principal station will be the Queen's Park, but Branch Stations will be formed on the Calton Hill, County Buildings, and Grassmarket.

SHOULD THE WEATHER BE WET the New Assembly Hall will be opened on Wednesday; and on Thursday and Friday both it and the Corn Exchange will be used.

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<sup>33</sup> John Kent, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism*, (London: Epworth Press, 1978), p.106

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.* p.108

## EVENING PREACHING

On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, at Seven o'clock Evening, the Corn Exchange and the New Assembly Hall will be opened.

Also, Greenside, West St. Giles', and Newington *Established Churches*; Fountainbridge and Cowgate *Free Churches*; and Broughton Place and Lothian Road *U.P. Churches*.

ON WEDNESDAY, Newington and Pleasance *Free Churches* and Nicolson Street *U.P. Church*. On THURSDAY, St. Paul's, St. Luke's, and St. Cuthbert's *Free Churches*; Potterrow and Arthur Street *U.P. Churches*. On FRIDAY, Newington and M'Crie *Free Churches*; Nicolson Street and Lauriston *U.P. Churches*.

## PUBLIC MEETINGS

Will also be held in QUEEN STREET HALL on WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, and FRIDAY Evenings, at Seven o'clock, when Addresses will be delivered on HOME EVANGELISATION.<sup>35</sup>

Thus the extension of the revival movement from Carrubber's involved the three Presbyterian denominations which were co-operating to reach as many people as possible with the gospel. However, in contrast to the earlier phase, which involved all Carrubbers' workers, Weaver and Radcliffe allowed no one else to take part in the services except themselves.<sup>36</sup> The daily *North Briton* published accounts of these meetings, regarding them as 'blasphemous' because of their style, with Weaver singing 'comic songs' and 'howling damnation to thousands'.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, possibly encouraged by this adverse publicity, the meetings continued to attract immense audiences from across the social spectrum. For example, Weaver was a guest at Warriston House, the residence of Caroline, Marchioness of Queensberry, who frequently attended his meetings and supported the work financially.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Anon, *These Fifty Years*, p.24

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.* p.28

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.* p.26

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.* p. 64

### 3.5.2 Brighton Street Evangelical Union Church

In contrast to the spontaneity of the Carrubber's experience, in Brighton Street Evangelical Union Church revival was planned and encouraged under the leadership of its minister, John Kirk. The formation of this church and Kirk's early ministry there was described in Chapter 2. As noted in that chapter, Kirk was influenced by the publications of the American evangelist, Charles Finney. Learning that Finney was working in London, Kirk invited him to Edinburgh. Finney arrived in the city with his wife in July 1859. Since it was his practice to attach himself to a local church as a base for his work, the Brighton Street congregation benefited most from his three-month visit. Although Finney was by now seventy years old, the extent of his labours can be gauged from the following description.

His chief work was conversing with the inquiring, and of these there were no end. The small hours of the morning often found us travelling across Bruntsfield Links. Hundreds in other denominations got a share of the blessing, especially "professors" of religion. [...] it was wonderful to see how earnestly he worked night after night.<sup>39</sup>

This description of Finney's work closely parallels the practice of Whitefield referred to above. It also suggests that most of his 'hearers' were already church-goers. Kirk, however, advised these converts 'to remain in their own churches and work from these centres outwards in promoting truth'.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, Brighton Street added one hundred and fifty new members to its fellowship 'as the fruit of this precious season.'<sup>41</sup> Despite the apparent success, one reporter noted that

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<sup>39</sup> Kirk, *Memoirs*, p.323

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.* p.324

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*



he [Finney] has done nothing towards the originating, and very likely will do but little towards extending, the Revival in Scotland.<sup>42</sup>

The apparent scepticism of this reporter illustrates the general perception that Finney, by this stage in his life, was no longer the effective force he had once been in evangelism.

Mrs. Finney, however, also played her part in the public ministry of her husband, although, mindful of Calvinist susceptibilities regarding women speaking in public, this did not extend to preaching in mixed gatherings. Her main task was to organise and preside over prayer meetings for women. In this way,

‘confining herself to the sphere of a true lady according to the notions of a woman’s place’ British observers saw her efforts as subordinate and respectable.<sup>43</sup>

These interdenominational gatherings were held in the Bristo Place Hall, which the Brighton Street church had purchased as an additional meeting room. Attendance reached two or three hundred daily. There

this gentle but articulate sixty-year-old coaxed and prayed with many who were later converted at Finney’s own services.<sup>44</sup>

At first glance it would seem that the Brighton Street and Carrubber’s Close Mission were working to the same end, the presentation of the gospel that souls may be led to Christ. Yet, when Brighton Street members offered to help in the work of Carrubber’s when it began in 1858, they were not allowed to do so. Gall attacked

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<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America 1799-1865*, (Connecticut, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978), p.179

<sup>43</sup> Holmes, *Religious Revival*, p.57, citing Rev John Dwyer, *Christian work for gentle hand: thoughts on female agency in the church of God*, (London, 1873) , p.22

<sup>44</sup> Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism*, p.188

them in the *Wynd Journal* as ‘hated Morisonians’ and held them up to ridicule.<sup>45</sup>

While not understanding Kirk’s doctrinal position, Free Church members, including Gall, ‘were compelled, nevertheless, to acknowledge his Christian candour and courtesy’ in his reply to Gall’s attack.<sup>46</sup> Yet it had been at Brighton Street, through a sermon by John Kirk on 10 November 1859, that William Robertson was converted, even though ‘somewhat prejudiced against him as being a Morisonian’.<sup>47</sup>

### 3.6 Results of Revival

These examples of revival in Edinburgh, one spontaneous and the other planned, had far reaching consequences as other churches, too, were affected. Socially, all classes were involved in seeking salvation. As one contemporary observer noted,

Ladies and gentlemen are sometimes also seen kneeling, as humble inquirers, before the same benches as artisans or their wives, or boys and girls of the warehouse and factory.<sup>48</sup>

Increased religious activity allowed greater opportunities for women outside the home. Previously restricted to work as Sunday School teachers or in visiting the sick, following Mrs. Finney’s example, women began to lead, or take part in, religious services or missionary meetings, although these always took place outside the main church buildings. Opportunities for social service were also apparent as the ‘blessed gospel’ reached those women who ‘ply their sinful calling’ in the streets. So successful was one missionary effort that a house of prostitution in the Canongate, ‘a

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<sup>45</sup> Kirk, *Memoirs*, p.324

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Robertson, *William Robertson*, p.20

<sup>48</sup> Rev. J. Barbour Johnstone ‘Carrubber’s Close Mission, Edinburgh’ in *Authentic Records of Revival now in progress in the United Kingdom*, ed. by Rev. William Reid M A, (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1860), pp. 451-460 (p.456)

very Sebastopol of the enemy', was cleared.<sup>49</sup> In this way, preaching the gospel of salvation led directly to moral improvement, a result which underpinned Victorian philanthropy. While some former prostitutes were able to obtain respectable employment, others slipped back into their old ways because the root cause of the problem, endemic poverty, was not tackled. On a more general social level, perhaps the biggest change was in the advocacy of temperance or total abstinence. The leader of the temperance movement in Edinburgh was John Kirk. After 1859, however, Presbyterian ministers, many of whom were previously hostile to temperance, took up the cause so that by 1861 the Free Church emerged as the main teetotal denomination.

So the excitement which had characterised 1859 to 1860 gradually died down. For some, the effects of that revival were not lasting. In April 1873 Robert Candlish, Principal of New College, during a visit to Crieff, declared,

The Church needs an awakening, and will soon see it. I'll not see it; but you will see it, and it will come in a way that will surprise many. People will have to be less particular as to the instruments and ministers may have to stand aside and see things done by others and even possibly in ways they do not altogether like, and which some may count irregular.<sup>50</sup>

Candlish died on 19 October 1873. On 22 November 1873 Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey arrived in Edinburgh. Their preaching and singing of the gospel ignited the city. Was this the awakening Candlish looked for?

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<sup>49</sup> *ibid.* pp.456-7

<sup>50</sup> William Wilson, *Candlish*, p.582

### 3.7 Moody and Sankey

Born in 1837 of humble parentage in New England, Dwight Lyman Moody became perhaps the most famous evangelist of his generation. His employment as an organiser and fund raiser for the Young Men's Christian Association in Chicago first made his reputation in the American Midwest.<sup>51</sup> In 1870 Moody was taking part in an international YMCA convention in Indianapolis. Ira David Sankey, who was then employed as an Assistant Collector of Revenue in Pennsylvania, attended the convention. Having learned of Moody's work, Sankey went to an early morning prayer meeting led by Moody. There a minister, who knew Sankey, suggested that he lead the singing of a hymn. Such was the impact of Sankey's singing that Moody, on being introduced to Sankey, asked him to give up his secure employment and join Moody in evangelism. A few months later he did so and their partnership was born, with Moody preaching, and Sankey singing, the gospel.

In the autumn of 1873 news reached Edinburgh of a remarkable series of meetings in the north of England, which Moody and Sankey were leading. The Rev. John Kelman, Senior,<sup>52</sup> of Free St. John's Church, Leith, visited Newcastle to see what was happening. On his return, his report of the meetings was so favourable that a group of Edinburgh ministers and prominent laymen agreed to invite Moody and Sankey to Edinburgh. The invitation was accepted. A committee was formed, with Kelman as secretary, to prepare for the evangelists, holding daily gatherings for prayer. This time of preparation covered six weeks.

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<sup>51</sup> Kent, *Hold the Fort*, p.132

<sup>52</sup> His son also became a celebrated Free Church minister, and later a minister in New York City.

Among the committee members was William Blaikie, who, as already noted, had been instrumental in the 1859 revival among the pupils of Pilrig School. In 1868 he was appointed professor of apologetics and pastoral theology at New College, a post he held for almost thirty years.<sup>53</sup> He saw Moody as

the man who could bring the warring factions of the Scottish church together through the centrality of “God’s word”.<sup>54</sup>

An important part of the preparation for the evangelists’ visit was publicity. Like Moody, Blaikie recognised the value of the press as a vehicle for reaching the unchurched. On Saturday 22 November 1873 Moody and Sankey arrived in Edinburgh, with the first meeting held the following evening. They were to remain in the city until 21 January 1874. During this period, Moody stayed at Blaikie’s home and, as well as providing hospitality, he ‘facilitated Moody’s contacts with local clergy and the press’.<sup>55</sup>

A contemporary account of this revival is given in *A Consecutive Narrative of the Remarkable Awakening in Edinburgh under the Labours of Messrs. Moody and Sankey, the City Ministers and Christian Laymen* edited by Mrs Robert Peddie.<sup>56</sup> This title shows that the movement was regarded as a co-operative effort with evangelists, ministers and laymen playing a part. The compilation has a descriptive immediacy as it draws together reports, mainly from the *Daily Review* newspaper, in which ‘interesting communications regarding the work, from honoured ministers in

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<sup>53</sup> K.R. Ross, ‘William Garden Blaikie’ in *DSCHT*, p.30

<sup>54</sup> Bruce Evenson, *God’s Man for the Gilded Age: D. L. Moody and the Rise of Modern Mass Evangelism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.27 (Quotation marks as in original)

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> (Edinburgh: The Religious Tract Society, 1874)

Leith and Edinburgh, appeared'.<sup>57</sup> There is a definite pro-revival bias in the *Narrative*. Nevertheless, such was the demand that the *Daily Review* articles were reprinted in the *Weekly Review* which was sent to 'friends in Scotland and England, and also to earnest workers in the Lord's service in Germany, Spain, and Grand Canary'.<sup>58</sup>

Admission to the meetings was by ticket, freely distributed, and the meetings attracted large crowds. Because of illness, Moody was unable to attend the opening of the Mission on the evening of Sunday 23 November at the Music Hall. Sankey, however,

was accompanied to the platform by a large number of devoted city ministers and Christian laymen, who in the intervals between Mr Sankey's sacred songs, conducted the entire services of the meeting with much unction and power.<sup>59</sup>

An important part of the revival was the noon prayer meeting, initially held in Queen Street Hall and ultimately the Free Assembly Hall, as this was the only venue large enough to accommodate the numbers who wished to attend. The hour was deliberately chosen to fit in with the working patterns of city life with business and professional men having less leisure than in earlier years. For the ordinary working man the mid-day break was all he had. Similarly the nightly evangelistic services, held in various churches throughout the city (for example in the Barclay Free Church, Broughton Place United Presbyterian, and Viewforth and Fountainbridge Parish Churches) took place at an hour when the average workday was over.

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<sup>57</sup> Peddie, *Remarkable Awakening*, p. 1

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*p.6

Among these churches was St. Stephen's, where Edinburgh's legal elite made up the majority of the congregation. At the Kirk Session meeting on 8 December, the Moderator (the minister in his role as chairman of the meeting) read a letter

making application for the use of St. Stephen's Church for meetings to be held by Messrs. Moody & Sankey on the north side of the Town.<sup>60</sup>

The application, having been remitted for consideration to a committee, was agreed. At the following meeting on 5 January, the Session Clerk reported that three revival meetings had been held, on the Monday, Wednesday and Thursday of the fourth week of the campaign; Dr. Nicholson, the minister, had attended the first two meetings which were 'well attended and very orderly'.<sup>61</sup> A newspaper report describes the audience thus, in an interesting order of precedence:

over 2000 of the middle and upper classes of Edinburgh attended with professors, nobility, distinguished lawyers and Parliamentary leaders well in evidence.<sup>62</sup>

Lord Sands, in his centenary history of the church, comments

The Minute is restrained but I have reason to know that Dr Nicholson was much impressed by the power and earnestness of Mr Moody.<sup>63</sup>

Sands had described Dr. Nicholson's preaching as 'intensely evangelical [but without] the crude voice of the sensational evangelist'.<sup>64</sup> From these descriptions we

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<sup>60</sup> NAS CH/2/607/2 Kirk Session Minutes 1861-1880, Minute 8 December 1873 p.234

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.* Minute 5 January 1874 p. 235

<sup>62</sup> Quoted from the *Edinburgh Daily Review* in W.F. Finlayson, 'With Sankey and Moody in Edinburgh', *Evening News*, 24 April 1954 (Edinburgh Central Library Press Cuttings *Religious Campaigns* Vol. I 1937-1965 YBF 1090, item 5. Page numbers are not stated. )

<sup>63</sup> The Hon. Lord Sands, *The Story of St. Stephen's Edinburgh 1828-1928*, (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1927), p.124

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.* p.53

may conclude that, certainly at St. Stephen's, the meetings were more controlled than those of Richard Weaver a few years earlier, or that Moody and Sankey, were adapting their meetings to the tastes of their hearers.

It was apparent that many who attended the meetings were already church-goers, carrying 'well-thumbed Bibles', enabling one Edinburgh minister to declare that the majority of the converts 'already had the knowledge of divine truth by early Christian education'.<sup>65</sup> This comment, however, should be set in the context that, certainly for the middle classes in late-Victorian Edinburgh, church attendance was the norm and Christian education an integral part of the school curriculum. Most of them, therefore, would have a basic theoretical knowledge of Christianity.

The middle-class predominance of his hearers did not escape Moody, who had come from a humble background himself. So concerned was he about this that in the fourth week, he began meetings for working men in the Grassmarket Corn Exchange, an 'immense building capable of holding six thousand persons'.<sup>66</sup> Five thousand men attended the meeting on the evening of Sunday 28 December. The service included spirituals by the Jubilee Singers, a choir of former slaves, who were all professing Christians, and were touring Europe to collect funds 'for the purpose of lifting up their brethren from the depths of ignorance in which they lived'.<sup>67</sup> Moody had met the choir in Newcastle and, on learning of the reasons for their visit to Britain, invited them to join him. These gestures show how Moody not only preached

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<sup>65</sup> Ian Muirhead, 'That Old-time Religion: The Moody and Sankey Mission', *The Scotsman*, 17 November 1973, (Edinburgh Central Library Press Cuttings *Missions* Vol.1 1932-1992 YBF 1090 No.75. Page numbers are not stated)

<sup>66</sup> Peddie, *Remarkable Awakening*, p.45

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.* p.46 footnote



the gospel but gave it practical expression. After the meeting in the Corn Exchange, Moody marched with about six or seven hundred men to the inquiry room at the Free Assembly Hall, where trained volunteers gave them further counselling. One can but imagine the reaction of staid, middle-class Edinburgh to this invasion. On the same evening a service was being held there for women only, with Dr. Horatius Bonar, minister of Chalmers Memorial Free Church in Edinburgh, and a well-known hymn writer, as the preacher. When the men from the Grassmarket appeared, the ladies, who were being counselled after their meeting, had to retire to the gallery to make room for them. Propriety dictated that men and women could not be advised together. Reporting the following day to the noon prayer meeting, Bonar stated

that in all his life he had never preached to such an audience. Every part of the large building was crowded; and, under the simple preaching of the blessed gospel, the vast multitude was bowed, and without any excitement, the careless were melted to tears of penitence, and the children of God to tears of joy.<sup>68</sup>

There were similar scenes in other city churches where campaign meetings were held. However, the number of conversions during the campaign in Edinburgh is difficult to determine, with estimates ranging between 1,500 and 7,000, some of whom were already nominal church members, and the majority of whom were young people from Christian homes who would have joined the church in any case.<sup>69</sup> The long-term effect of the Moody and Sankey campaign on church membership or attendance is impossible to quantify with any precision.

With the keen interest which the two Americans engendered, entry into the meetings could be difficult, as one man discovered. Andrew Urquhart, a young

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<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*, p.48

<sup>69</sup> Muirhead, 'That Old-Time Religion'

solicitor who had recently come to live in Edinburgh, wanted to hear Moody preach. On trying to gain admittance to the Assembly Hall, he was refused as the meeting was for converts, who had been especially invited. Urquhart's name was not on the list. Two days later he tried again but without success. Finally, in the quadrangle, he stopped, decided to become a Christian, then he turned back up the steps to the Hall. On his profession of faith, he was allowed into the last meeting of the Edinburgh campaign on 16 January 1874.<sup>70</sup> Urquhart was to serve as secretary of Charlotte Baptist Chapel for over thirty years and play a significant role in the revival of that church, to be described below.

Moody's influence on the young is also evident in the case of a conversion which George Adam Smith narrates in his biography of Henry Drummond, who, as we shall see below, worked closely with Moody. Smith describes how a young man was 'awakened and anxious', having attended meetings 'addressed by ministers and elderly laymen of position in Edinburgh.' But such was their preaching that he concluded that religion was 'a big confidence trick'.<sup>71</sup> He then, for the first time, went to one of Moody's meetings for young men, which was attended by about two thousand. He describes the scene:

The words of the hymns he heard were poor, and the music little better, but the mystical power came back with them and he found himself worshipping. Mr. Moody began to speak [---]. There was an occasional exaggeration, but some humour fell and swept the address clean of every appearance of unreality. Mr. Moody spoke of the peril of life, of the ghastly hunger of the soul without God, of conscience and of guilt; then with passion and with tenderness, of God's love and

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<sup>70</sup> Balfour, *Revival*, p.66

<sup>71</sup> George Adam Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1899), p.58

of the Saviour Christ, who is among us today as surely as on the shores of Galilee or by the Pool of Bethesda.<sup>72</sup>

Although the young man did not remain behind with the inquirers for counselling, he determined to become a Christian. Smith does not name the young man but the details he gives of his whole experience can only come from first-hand knowledge. We may conclude then that the unknown hearer was Smith himself. His later story will be told in Chapter 5.

While in some respects the style of the services conducted by Moody and Sankey mirrored that which had prevailed during the 1859-60 revival, there were innovations. The meetings were highly organised and were therefore calmer than those of earlier years. The 'anxious seat' gave way to the 'inquiry room' where hearers who had been touched by the preaching could be counselled in greater privacy. Volunteer counsellors, both men and women, were especially trained for the work, generally one to one or in small groups. Arrangements were also made for the continuing spiritual nurture of new converts. To assist with this aspect of the work of evangelism, Moody called upon the students of New College, who were training for the Free Church ministry. The majority of the students participated in the campaign by counselling converts.

The professors at New College included Robert Rainy, whose service to the Free Church, particularly with regard to the disestablishment question and the proposed union with the United Presbyterians, was described in the previous chapter. In 1862 he was appointed to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History and in October 1874,

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<sup>72</sup> *ibid.* p. 59

as already noted, the General Assembly elected him Principal in succession to Robert Candlish.<sup>73</sup> As we have seen, Candlish had died exactly a year earlier. During the intervening period, although his biographers do not say so, Rainy may have acted as Principal, such was his authority in the Free Church as a whole. His attitude to Moody and Sankey, therefore, would have been crucial in allowing the students to participate in their campaign. Unfortunately, in his biography of Rainy, Carnegie Simpson gives scant coverage to the work of Moody and Sankey, but George Adam Smith lists Rainy among those church leaders who ‘spoke from the evangelists’ platforms, helped in the inquiry rooms and instructed the young converts’ or otherwise assisted.<sup>74</sup> Accordingly, he would have encouraged his students to participate in the great mission. Professor William Blaikie, as we have already seen, was also a firm supporter of the Americans.

One young man greatly influenced by his experience in counselling converts was Henry Drummond. Because of the major role he was to have in evangelism throughout Scotland and beyond, his career is examined in some detail later in this chapter. Moody’s sincerity and his concentration on individuals appealed to Drummond, who saw the inquiry room as bridging the gap between preacher and hearer, bringing them together ‘man to man before God’.<sup>75</sup> Moody, on the other hand, was impressed with Drummond’s work in counselling young men and with his

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<sup>73</sup> Simpson, *Principal Rainy*, I, pp.146 and 285

<sup>74</sup> George Smith, *Henry Drummond*, p.56

<sup>75</sup> *ibid.* p. 63

leadership among the students, a few of whom had established a committee to deal with requests from all parts of the country for news of what was happening in Edinburgh. The students went themselves to the other towns, describing events and giving evangelistic addresses. So revival spread beyond the city.<sup>76</sup> Moody therefore, as a deliberate policy, invited Drummond to undertake follow-up work among young men where Moody had conducted earlier campaigns, sending him first to Sunderland in the north of England in April 1874.<sup>77</sup> Drummond thereafter continued to work closely with the Americans elsewhere in England, including London, and in Ireland until July 1875.<sup>78</sup>

### **3.7.1 A New Style of Worship**

The greatest innovation of the Americans' 1873-74 campaign, however, was in the music. The Scottish practice was to use metrical psalms or paraphrases based on Scripture in public worship, hence the term 'inspired' hymns. They were mainly unaccompanied, led by a precentor. While Dr. Robert Lee, Church of Scotland minister of Old Greyfriars, had introduced an organ to accompany his congregation's singing in 1863, this had caused considerable controversy both in the church courts and in the press. Gradually the use of an organ was becoming more acceptable, but most Scottish Presbyteries, especially in the Free Church, remained staunchly opposed to organ music which seemed to them unseemly and mere entertainment in God's house. Not only did Sankey sing 'uninspired hymns' (in that the words were not taken directly from Scripture) he also accompanied himself on a small portable

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<sup>76</sup> *ibid.* p.64 (Towns visited are not named.)

<sup>77</sup> *ibid.* p.66

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.* p.93

organ. There was, in addition, often a massed choir trained to support Sankey in leading the singing of the audience. This resulted in the criticism by one Free Church minister of such 'unscriptural devices' that

singing the gospel to men has taken the place of singing praise to God. [...] They could be at the concert and in church at the same time. <sup>79</sup>

Yet within a few weeks Sankey's hymns became 'as familiar to every rank and to every age as those older hymns which we had known best and longest'. <sup>80</sup>

Both Moody and Sankey could judge very accurately what would appeal to their audiences. The simple tunes, based on folk melodies or the popular music of the period, were easily learned while the sentimentality of the words was in accord with the mood of the Victorian age. Sankey saw his singing primarily to support Moody and to reinforce the gospel message contained in his preaching. The first song for which Sankey composed the music was Horatio Bonar's 'Yet there is room' in November 1873 at the beginning of the Edinburgh campaign. <sup>81</sup> The theme was based on Luke 14.22 'it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room.' With the refrain, 'Room, room, still room! Oh, enter, enter, now', it is a song of invitation that the hearer may respond to the gospel. Perhaps the best known example of Sankey's compositions, which also illustrates the close rapport he developed with Moody, was 'The Ninety and Nine' based on the parable of the Good Shepherd (Luke 15. 4-7). <sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> J.Kennedy, *Hyper-Evangelism: 'Another Gospel' Though a Mighty Power A Review of the Recent Religious Movement in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Duncan Grant & Company, 1874), p. 26

<sup>80</sup> A. H. Charteris, *Church of Scotland Record*, April 1874, quoted in Gordon, *Charteris*, p. 285

<sup>81</sup> *Sacred Songs and Solos with Standard Hymns combined*, compiled and sung by Ira D. Sankey (London: Morgan and Scott n.d.), No.31

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.* No. 43

While waiting at the railway station in Glasgow for the train to Edinburgh, Sankey bought a newspaper in which was printed a poem by the late Elizabeth Clephane, another member of the Free Church. He cut the piece out and put the scrap of paper in his pocket. At an evening meeting in the Free Assembly Hall two days later, Moody asked Sankey to sing ‘an appropriate solo’ to close the service.<sup>83</sup> As the poem exactly fitted the subject of Moody’s sermon, Sankey took the paper from his pocket, and, extemporising the melody, sang the words

There were ninety and nine that safely lay In the shelter of the fold,  
But one was out on the hills away, Far off from the gates of gold.  
Away on the mountains wild and bare, Away from the tender Shepherd’s care.

In the accompaniment we can hear the rhythm of the train as it travels along. Among the audience that evening was Elizabeth Clephane’s sister who wrote to Sankey in appreciation.<sup>84</sup>

An unusual musical source was the aria ‘Home Sweet Home’ from the opera, *Clari*, or *The Maid of Milan*, written in 1823 by Henry Bishop, who, at the suggestion of Prince Albert, was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1842, becoming the first musician so honoured. A few months beforehand, in November 1841, he had been elected as Reid professor of music at Edinburgh University but resigned two years later.<sup>85</sup> A possible reason for this may have been the attitude of the Senate, who ‘jealously restricted the time allowed for music lectures to a maximum of two

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<sup>83</sup> Ian Bradley, *Abide with Me: The World of Victorian Hymns*, (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1997), p.175

<sup>84</sup> Elizabeth P. Thomson, ‘The impetus given to the use of instrumental music in Scottish churches by the visit of Moody and Sankey to Scotland in 1873-74’ in *Records of Scottish Church History Society* 36 (2006) 175-194 (p.186)

<sup>85</sup> Clive Brown, ‘Henry Rowley Bishop’ in *NDNB* 5, pp.868-870 (p.870)

per year'.<sup>86</sup> 'Home Sweet Home' was popularised in the 1870s by the celebrated soprano Adelina Patti, who made it her signature piece, singing it at every opportunity. The air was used for the 'Farewell Hymn' which was often sung by their supporters on station platforms as Moody and Sankey left a city. With words by 'E. P. H.', the first verse reads as follows:-

Farewell, faithful friends, we must now bid adieu  
To those joys and pleasures we've tasted with you;  
We've laboured together, united in heart,  
But now we must close and soon we must part.

The refrain, to be sung after the last of six verses, is

Home! Home! sweet, sweet home! Prepare us dear Saviour, for yonder blest home.<sup>87</sup>

This echoes the original refrain which begins with the same four words.

The innovative approach of the two evangelists is evident, too, in the 'religious service' held in the Free Assembly Hall on 31 December to bring in the New Year. At that time, and indeed until the 1950s, Christmas Day was an ordinary working day in Scotland, where Hogmanay and New Year's Day were the main celebrations. This New Year was different for those who attended. The meeting began at 8pm and lasted until after midnight. As Moody indicated, it was marked by

the utmost irregularity. [---] anything that is worship will be in order, and when I am speaking, if any one has an illustration to give, or would like to sing a hymn or offer prayer, let him do so.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, (Milton Keynes: The Open University Press, 1989), pp.15-16

<sup>87</sup> *Sacred Songs*, No. 111

<sup>88</sup> Peddie, *Remarkable Awakening*, p.53



So the evening progressed with many of the ministers, who had accompanied Moody and Sankey into the hall, taking part. The Jubilee Singers ‘often introduced most beautiful and suitable singing’.<sup>89</sup> For the hour before midnight the time was spent in prayer, with the last five minutes in silence, finally broken by the clocks striking to herald the start of 1874.

How far, however, did support for Moody and Sankey extend? In the last week of December 1873 a call to prayer was printed for circulation to every minister in Scotland ‘excepting Roman Catholics and Unitarians’.<sup>90</sup> This urged a week of united prayer daily from 4 to 11 January throughout the country so that ‘all Scotland should share the blessing that the capital is now enjoying.’<sup>91</sup> The fifty-five signatories included Lords Cavan and Polwarth, three New College and three University of Edinburgh professors, nine Free Church ministers, seven United Presbyterians, three Church of Scotland, three Baptists, one Congregationalist and one Episcopalian. Support within Edinburgh for the campaign, therefore, seemed widespread, certainly among evangelicals across the denominational spectrum. The most noteworthy aspect of this support is the close co-operation between the Free Church and United Presbyterians, as only a few months earlier proposals to unite these branches of Presbyterianism had failed after ten years of negotiations. While their church leaders could not agree on an incorporating union, the members were showing that they could come together in the common cause of evangelism. As Archibald H. Charteris, Professor of Biblical Criticism at Edinburgh University and a leading Church of Scotland advocate of Presbyterian reunion, was to write in 1907

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<sup>89</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *ibid.*, p. 49

<sup>91</sup> *ibid.*, p.50

Mr Moody's wonderful mission in 1873 also did much to make everybody ashamed of the envy, malice, and uncharitable-ness which had marked the relations of the Churches of Christ.<sup>92</sup>

### 3.7.2 Opposition

The success of Moody and Sankey's 1873-74 campaign, however, did not go unchallenged. Opposition came from the United States and from within Scotland. An anonymous letter, containing 'injurious statements', was sent from Chicago and circulated in 'various quarters'.<sup>93</sup> Other letters sent by relatives in America to Edinburgh warned against the methods employed, 'representing that Mr Moody had not the confidence of his brethren at home'.<sup>94</sup> On enquiries being made, a letter from thirty-six 'Pastors of the city of Chicago', who had known and worked with Moody, testified regarding his character and commended him as

an earnest Christian worker, worthy of the confidence of our Scotch and English brethren with whom he is now labouring; believing that the Master will be honoured by them in so receiving him among them as a *co-labourer* in the vineyard of the Lord.<sup>95</sup>

The main opposition in Scotland to Moody and Sankey focussed on doctrinal differences between the strict Calvinists and the Arminianism of the more evangelical denominations. The result was a pamphlet war between John Kennedy the influential, but controversial, minister of Dingwall Free Church, and Horatius

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<sup>92</sup> Gordon, *Charteris*, p.251

<sup>93</sup> Horatius Bonar, *The Old Gospel: Not 'Another Gospel' but the power of God unto Salvation*, (Edinburgh: Andrew Eliot, 1874), p.75

<sup>94</sup> E. J. Goodspeed, *The Wonderful Career of Moody and Sankey in Great Britain and America*, (New York: Henry S. Goodspeed and Company, 1876), p.73

<sup>95</sup> Extract from the letter with signatories printed in Bonar, *The Old Gospel*, pp.76-78 (Italics as in original)

Bonar, who, as noted above, was one of the most prominent of the Edinburgh Free Church ministers and played a leading role in supporting Moody and Sankey. In his *Hyper-Evangelism 'Another Gospel' Though a Mighty Power*, Kennedy criticised the methods of the campaign with their emphasis on 'feeling' rather than faith and a failure to present God as 'Lawgiver and Judge' so that sinners are unaware of their guilt.<sup>96</sup> All they were asked to do was assent to a statement of belief with little understanding leading to 'superficial religiousness '[which] will take the place of genuine godliness'.<sup>97</sup> Kennedy also objected to Moody's preaching because he was not 'authorised' to do so, being a layman. In refuting this challenge, Bonar pointed out that the Americans

were only present in December and January. After that the work [in Edinburgh] passed entirely into Scottish hands [---] the acknowledged ministers of the different Churches in our land.<sup>98</sup>

Accordingly Kennedy's accusation of unauthorised preaching and teaching was no longer sustainable by that stage, since ordained ministers were now responsible for taking the work of evangelism forward. Nor had Kennedy considered the major part Free Church ministers had taken in inviting Moody and Sankey to Scotland.

Moody and Sankey came to Edinburgh again for six weeks from mid-November 1881. A new feature of this visit was Saturday morning meetings for children where Moody gave them "illustrated sermons".<sup>99</sup> This evangelistic campaign also

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<sup>96</sup> J. Kennedy, *Hyper-Evangelism 'Another Gospel' Though a Mighty Power, A Review of the Recent Religious movement in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Duncan Grant & Co., 1874), pp. 8-9

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.* p.31

<sup>98</sup> Bonar, *The Old Gospel*, p.71

<sup>99</sup> Moody, *Life*, pp. 263-4

gave a great impetus to Home Mission work, and by using the Corn Exchange [---] sought especially to evangelise the very lowest classes of the community<sup>100</sup>,

people whom the churches hardly touched. Those who were interested attended Mission Halls rather than church buildings, although services there were generally held under the auspices of a particular church. Its undenominational character made Carrubber's an exception. Hearing of their nightly open-air meeting, Moody paid a surprise visit. The work impressed him so much that he helped to collect £10,000 for a new building, of which he laid the foundation stone on 24 April 1883. A year later Moody opened the large hall, 'which was densely crowded in every part.'<sup>101</sup>

Moody's final visit to Scotland, the itinerary for which was arranged by William Robertson of Carrubber's, lasted for four months from late November 1891. Because of Sankey's ill health, this time Moody came alone. He averaged three meetings each day in over a hundred different places.<sup>102</sup> This "Scotch mission" closed with meetings in Edinburgh, where

[it] was a noticeable fact that at the last afternoon meeting both the Moderators-elect of the coming Established and Free Church Assemblies, Professor Charteris and Professor Blaikie, were present, and in consequence of the crowded platform had to share between them the president's chair.<sup>103</sup>

These later visits did not receive the world-wide publicity of the 1873-74 campaign.

Moody and Sankey were not scholarly men, and were largely self-taught, but their simple approach attracted people in a way which the more learned ministers could

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<sup>100</sup> Gordon, *Charteris*, p. 287

<sup>101</sup> Anon., *These Fifty Years*, p.36

<sup>102</sup> Moody, *Life*, p.343

<sup>103</sup> *ibid.* p. 344

not. Leading clergymen, like Bonar, one of the most eloquent and learned preachers of his day, were willing to work closely with the Americans. Nearly all denominations were united in their wish to see as many as possible reached with the gospel. Moody's secret can be summed up in a comment by an unknown hearer.

He never has the church service, and he doesn't have on any robes; and then his preaching, why, he doesn't preach at all, he just talks.<sup>104</sup>

Between 1859-60 and 1873-4 revivals in Edinburgh had become quieter, taking on a new respectability in their organisation and content. This reflects the mores of their predominantly middle-class participants and the increasing urbanisation of Scotland. In growing cities like Edinburgh, with their sense of civic pride and decorum, revivalism became more seemly and 'respectable'. Gradually, the trend moved from a long, concentrated campaign to shorter more closely focussed week long 'special services' held in individual churches or by local associations.

### **3.7.3 Henry Drummond**

As indicated above, Henry Drummond played a prominent role in Moody's first campaign, which greatly influenced his future. Drummond was born on 17 August 1851 in Stirling, where his father was head of a firm of seedsmen and nurserymen. The family was therefore prosperous. In October 1866 Drummond began his studies at Edinburgh University, but left in April 1870 having completed only two-thirds of the MA degree, as he 'never had the courage to attempt the classical department'.<sup>105</sup> In November that year, having passed the Free Church Board examination to enter ministerial training, Drummond commenced his theological studies at New College,

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<sup>104</sup> *ibid.* p.395

<sup>105</sup> George Smith, *Henry Drummond*, p. 30

where he was the youngest student.<sup>106</sup> At the same time he also studied natural science, a subject which had interested him since childhood, as he explored the countryside around his home.<sup>107</sup>

The reason a theological college offered science in the curriculum is interesting. In 1843, when the Free Church was formed, professors in arts subjects at the four Scottish universities were required to be members of the Church of Scotland. New College was therefore founded as the Free Church divinity hall but also provided courses in classical languages, philosophy, logic and natural science. The latter chair was founded at the instigation of, among others, Hugh Millar, the geologist and editor of the Free Church magazine, *The Bulwark*.<sup>108</sup> While the other arts subjects were discontinued after a few years, natural science remained part of the curriculum until the death of its last professor, Sir James Young Simpson, grand-nephew of the famous medical practitioner, in 1934.<sup>109</sup> Accordingly, Drummond was able to pursue his interest in natural science at New College but in 1871, when the Chair of Geology was founded at Edinburgh University, he was the first student to enrol for that course, attending both institutions simultaneously.<sup>110</sup> He was a prize-winning student of these subjects, showing a particular interest in Darwin's theory of

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<sup>106</sup> *ibid.* p.41

<sup>107</sup> James W. Kennedy, *Henry Drummond: An Anthology with the story of his life*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 20

<sup>108</sup> Smith, *Henry Drummond*, p.119

<sup>109</sup> D. F. Wright, 'New College' in *DSCHT*, p. 624

<sup>110</sup> Kennedy, *Henry Drummond*, pp. 22-23

evolution which he was later to accept fully.<sup>111</sup> As we shall see below, this stance was to cause controversy.

At the end of Drummond's third session at New College in April 1873, he spent the summer at the University of Tübingen for further study. As already noted, a period of theological study in Germany was a common practice among Scottish divinity students of the period, since the German universities were regarded as at the forefront of research in the areas of Biblical, or 'higher', criticism and interpretation of Scripture. As we shall see in Chapter 5, this new learning was to cause problems in some churches, with ministers being accused of unsound teaching or even heresy. On his return to Edinburgh, Drummond decided to postpone his fourth session at New College for a year or two in order to devote more time to natural science and also to undertake mission work in Riego Street, Fountainbridge, under the auspices of Free St. Cuthbert's, where the senior minister was Sir Henry Moncrieff.<sup>112</sup>

Drummond returned to his studies at New College in October 1875, declining an invitation from Moody in December that year to assist him in Philadelphia with work among young men. He completed his four-year divinity course at New College in April 1876. Although Drummond investigated the requirements for license to the Free Church ministry, he decided that he did not want to take this step, despite the fact that he received several invitations to assist ministers and to preach in vacant churches. The only one he accepted was from James Hood Wilson, the renowned minister of Barclay Free Church, who required assistance while he recovered from an

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<sup>111</sup> *ibid.* p.23

<sup>112</sup> George Smith, *Henry Drummond*, pp. 50, 52

illness. Drummond worked with him for four months early in 1877.<sup>113</sup> (The ministry of James Hood Wilson is described in Chapter 7.) Drummond subsequently emphasised that he had never given up the ministry, as he had never held that position.<sup>114</sup> In a letter to his father from Orkney on 24 August 1874, Drummond wrote:

Moody wanted me to go to the Inverness Convention, but there is a much better field here, and I am glad to escape it. He expects me, however, to go over to Belfast with him. I think, looking back on the past days, as well as at future prospects this winter, that I have been unmistakeably led in the right way. I am sure if I did not feel this, the work would be most uncongenial and bitter; but I cannot help thinking more and more that my way has been chosen for me, and that however irregular and unusual it may seem to others, this is the work that has been given me to do. It has never been the object of even the slightest desire in me to be the Reverend. If I know my heart, I believe I can humbly say that for the last seven years the work I am now engaged in has been the dream of my life. [---] I can only repeat that underlying my scientific studies and everything else, there has been this one settled conviction all these years, that the only life which to me would seem at all worth living would be a life of evangelistic work.<sup>115</sup>

From this letter, it is evident that Drummond was interested in work as an evangelist before he met Moody. Nevertheless, the American had some influence on Drummond's future career.

In September 1877 Drummond was appointed temporary lecturer in natural science at the Free Church College, Glasgow, a post which was made permanent in the following year. He was elected to the newly created professorship of that subject in May 1885. In parallel with his academic work, Drummond continued to evangelise among students. The student movement, as it became known, began in

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<sup>113</sup> *ibid.* pp. 113-114

<sup>114</sup> *ibid.* p.117

<sup>115</sup> James Y. Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1901) pp. 46-47



Edinburgh in 1884 with a series of Sunday evening lectures, combining Christianity and science, to some extent repeating those he gave to his students during the week. The venue chosen was the Oddfellows Hall in Forrest Road, near the University and the Royal Infirmary. On the preceding Thursday mornings, yellow placards were

posted on the large bulletin boards lining every entranceway to the University buildings so the students could not miss them. Also on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, sandwichmen carried signs in the neighbourhood [---] advertising the meeting.<sup>116</sup>

The hall had seating for almost seven hundred but often as many as a thousand

crowded in, pushed tightly together on the benches, sitting on the floor and steps, and standing even out into the long hallway leading to the front door.<sup>117</sup>

Through his meetings ‘hundreds of men who never went to church were won for Christ’.<sup>118</sup> His evangelistic work among young men and boys, which spread worldwide, remains Drummond’s lasting achievement, which began because Moody discerned his potential to reach them for Christ.

At around the same time Moody, too, had begun work among young men and women in Northfield, Massachusetts, where he had founded schools to train them as evangelists. In 1887 he invited Drummond to a conference there and again in 1893 when Drummond was in America on a lecture tour. This second visit was to cause some controversy as a deputation of some Northfield students urged Moody not to let Drummond speak. In addition a representative from an English religious paper had

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<sup>116</sup> Kennedy, *Henry Drummond*, pp.82-83

<sup>117</sup> *ibid.* p.82

<sup>118</sup> George Smith, *Henry Drummond*, p.295

been ordered not to report anything Drummond said.<sup>119</sup> By this time his views on Darwinian evolution, which he supported as a result of his scientific training, and also his acceptance of the Biblical criticism, which cast doubt on the traditional authorship of the Old Testament scriptures, had become well-known through his published works such as *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* which became a worldwide best-seller.<sup>120</sup> Moody allowed Drummond to speak but he found the experience difficult, writing a few days later,

At Northfield I felt a good deal out of it, and many fell upon me and rent me. Before the close of the Conference, I struck an orthodox vein and retrieved myself a little. But it was not a happy time.<sup>121</sup>

Drummond's last visit to America as a lecturer was in 1894. However, he refused an invitation to join Moody in an evangelistic campaign in Chicago because he did not want to 'expose Moody to further attacks on his account'.<sup>122</sup>

On his return from America it was apparent to his friends that Drummond was a sick man. While he continued his work at the Free Church College in Glasgow, in the winter of 1895 he had to withdraw from his weekend meetings for students in Edinburgh.<sup>123</sup> In March he left Glasgow and spent the next two years seeking medical treatment in Edinburgh, London and, finally, Tunbridge Wells, where he died on 7 March 1897, aged forty-five. He was buried on 15 March in Stirling on 'a

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<sup>119</sup> *ibid.* pp.420-21

<sup>120</sup> Henry Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1883)

<sup>121</sup> George Smith, *Henry Drummond*, p.421

<sup>122</sup> George Adam Smith, 'A Personal Tribute' in Henry Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody: Impressions and Facts*, (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1900), pp. 1-36 (p. 23)

<sup>123</sup> J. Y. Simpson, *Henry Drummond*, p. 94

day rampant with rain and sleet' where representatives of students, whose lives he had touched, were among the large body of mourners.<sup>124</sup>

### 3.8 Two more Americans

From January to February 1903 Edinburgh experienced similar meetings to those of Moody and Sankey. Two Americans, Reuben Torrey, an evangelist, and Charles Alexander, his song leader, began their first mission to Britain, in the city.<sup>125</sup> One church which benefited considerably from this campaign was Broughton Place United Free (formerly United Presbyterian) Church, where in that year its membership reached its highest figure of almost 1500, 'largely as a result of so many young people joining'.<sup>126</sup> Although the anonymous author of the church's history does not mention Torrey and Alexander by name, he does comment on the 'spiritual awakening' in the city, in which the pastor, Dr. John Smith, and congregation shared.<sup>127</sup> Another was Charlotte Chapel where at least two converts from that mission had links. One, a railwayman, was still active in the church fifty-five years later and 'loved to testify how he had gone forward in response to Torrey's appeal'.<sup>128</sup> The other was a young servant 'who had been on the verge of suicide' until her conversion.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> *ibid.* p. 98

<sup>125</sup> Tom Lennie, *Glory in the Glen: A History of Evangelical Revivals in Scotland 1880-1940*, (Fearn: Christian Focus Publications, 2009) p.89

<sup>126</sup> Anon, *Thirty Years of Broughton Place Church*, (Edinburgh: Howie & Seath, 1914,) p.44

<sup>127</sup> *ibid.* pp.44-45

<sup>128</sup> Balfour, *Revival* p. 97

<sup>129</sup> *ibid.*

Torrey also conducted special meetings for children. The first of these, held at the Methodist Central Hall, Tollcross, in February, during the third week of the campaign, ‘was packed from floor to ceiling with young people from all ages and classes’.<sup>130</sup> Almost three hundred professed conversion following an appeal. Although precautions had been taken to prevent the children following one another impulsively, this practice caused considerable controversy. As with Moody, there was opposition to Torrey’s methods of evangelism, particularly the way in which he closed a meeting and dealt with enquirers. One who heard Torrey preach in Edinburgh described the scene thus:

The following was the exact method that he pursued: 1) He invited all who wished to be saved to come forward to the front seat. 2) After which he read John 1:12 “As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God.” The Dr then asked them if they were willing to receive Christ, and they replied in the affirmative. 3) Next he read Romans 10:9, “If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God has raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.” Again they replied in the affirmative that they believed with their hearts, when he commanded them to turn to the audience and confess him with the mouth. This was all.<sup>131</sup>

This was considered too mechanical and the resulting conversions doubtful. On the whole, the Torrey and Alexander campaigns were less successful than those of Moody and Sankey a generation earlier. This may have been partly due to the impact of the Welsh revival, which followed almost immediately after. It is to that ‘awakening’ we now turn.

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<sup>130</sup> *ibid.* quoting *The Christian* 26 February 1903

<sup>131</sup> Lennie, *Glory in the Glen*, p. 90 footnote 77

### 3.9 The 'Welsh Revival' in Edinburgh

The Welsh revival of 1904-5 had more in common with that of 1859-60, as it 'inaugurated a spiritual reawakening which encircled the globe'.<sup>132</sup> As with the Ulster revival, news reports of the events in Wales and letters to relatives and friends of the Welsh diaspora created world-wide interest. Scottish newspapers reported extensively on what was happening, 'which created a desire for a similar blessing in Scotland'.<sup>133</sup> Following these reports, ministers from Edinburgh visited the Principality to witness the revival. From January to June 1905, the weekly *Edinburgh Citizen and Portobello Advertiser*, among others, carried accounts of meetings in local Edinburgh churches which mirrored those in Wales.

What was this revival which caused such a stir and still resonates a hundred years later? It began in February 1904 among the young people of a Calvinistic Methodist Church in Newquay, Cardiganshire. Within six months it had spread throughout the country so that the secular, as well as the religious, press reported on events. The most important figure was Evan Roberts, a young former miner who had started training for the ministry but did not complete it.

Such was the impact of Roberts' preaching that a suggestion was made at a meeting of the United Free Church Presbytery on Tuesday 3 January 1905 regarding a possible visit to Scotland, many in Edinburgh having 'expressed the desire to see and hear the young Welshman'.<sup>134</sup> This visit never took place but some of the city's

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<sup>132</sup> R. Tudur Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of a Nation: Wales 1890-1914*, trans. by Sylvia Prys Jones and ed. by Robert Pope, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2004), p. 337

<sup>133</sup> *ibid.*, p.342

<sup>134</sup> 'Religious Work in the City', *Edinburgh Citizen and Portobello Advertiser*, 6 January 1905, p.6

ministers - Established Church, United Free, Baptist and Episcopalian- travelled to Wales. On their return, conferences were held so that as many as possible could learn of their experiences. In this way they hoped to bring revival to their own churches. One of the largest of these conferences was that held in 'Charlotte Street Baptist Chapel' on Saturday 21 January. About eight hundred attended with many others unable to be admitted. Among the speakers was Principal Anderson of the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow (now the International Christian College), founded in 1892 as a centre for training evangelists and missionaries. Anderson described the characteristics of the meetings he had attended.

It was as though there was the breathing presence of the Divine Spirit. Teaching was very limited, rarely at all, and that confined to fundamental truths[---] The effect of song[---] was one of the greatest factors in promoting the work, and when one listened to a congregation singing, the parts blended so beautifully that it seemed like a grand trained oratorio.<sup>135</sup>

Could that atmosphere be replicated in Edinburgh, as some wished? Later incidents suggested that there were doubts. While the revival 'infection' spread throughout the city, the Rev David Rollo, Buccleuch Parish Church, asked, "Is there going to be a revival?"<sup>136</sup> He thought that the situation was being contrived and lacked the spontaneity of the Welsh experience. An anonymous writer commented

We agree we long to hear similar results. Missions we have in plenty but as yet the signs of revival are still lacking. Is it because we are trying to work it up on the Welsh pattern? Is the Church not prepared for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit? Is man not entering too largely into the effort? Should there be more prayer and fasting, less advertising? A revival of genuine religion is needed but we feel it must come in the divinely appointed way.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> *Citizen*, 27 January 1905, p.5

<sup>136</sup> *Citizen*, 17 March 1905, p.5

<sup>137</sup> *ibid.*

The Edinburgh church in which the revival had possibly the greatest impact was Charlotte Baptist Chapel, where Joseph Kemp had been appointed pastor in 1902. Born in Hull on 16 December 1872, Joseph was the only son among six siblings. His father was a policeman but was drowned when Joseph was seven; so, as the only male in the family, at that tender age he took whatever work he could to help support his mother and sisters. Two years later his mother also died and the family was scattered. Joseph was looked after by a man who himself had been orphaned. When Joseph was twelve years of age, having had only eighteen months formal education, his benefactor found him employment selling newspapers in Hull railway station. This man was a member of a Presbyterian church and the young Kemp joined that church when he became a Christian in September 1886, involving himself actively in its work, and at the same time attending evening classes for education. When Joseph was sixteen, his guardian helped Joseph to improve his prospects by finding him employment in a local post office, where he remained for a few years.

Realising his potential, one of the church elders paid for Kemp to attend the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow, where he studied for two years (1893-95). Kemp's study of the New Testament led him to accept the truth of believers' baptism and he was baptised in Glasgow on the day he completed his college course. He then commenced an itinerant ministry as an evangelist until in April 1897 he was inducted to the ministry of Kelso Baptist Church in the Scottish Borders. He married Wilhelmina (Winnie) Binnie three months later and in July 1898 he was called to Hawick Baptist Church, in a neighbouring Borders town. Perhaps the £100 per annum stipend he was offered (twice that which Kelso could pay him) had some

influence in his decision. Both these churches increased their membership as a result of his strongly evangelistic ministry.<sup>138</sup>

When Kemp was called to Charlotte Chapel in 1902, its membership was at its lowest ebb. During the first two years of his ministry three hundred were added to the church. On his return from Wales early in 1905 he began to hold regular monthly meetings on Saturdays. At one of these, on 22 January, revival ‘came to the chapel’. It followed the Welsh pattern of prayer, praise and testimony. There was an overwhelming longing for the salvation of others. Sixty-six were received into membership at one service. By the end of 1905, this revival at Charlotte Chapel was over but the church continued to grow until a new building became necessary.<sup>139</sup>

The last report of revival events published in the *Edinburgh Citizen* was that of 16 June 1905.

The revival ardour of Pastor Kemp, his office bearers and workers is as great as ever. [---] There is no reason why the revival spirit should not be felt in every church throughout the length and breadth of the City if ministers, elders, and members will only give themselves to prayer and supplication, divest themselves of that respectability and exclusiveness which is killing Presbyterianism, cast their coats and go in for soul saving with all their might. [---] On Sunday night we witnessed two big marches in Princes Street within a few minutes of each other, the one led by an office bearer and the other by the pastor of Charlotte Chapel. In front of each company there was a young man carrying boards announcing the Sunday and week-night meetings, while there could not be less than 400 to 500 persons taking part in the marches, many of whom but a short time before were slaves to sin. The hymn-singing was simple, easily understood, effective, and well calculated to arrest the passers-by.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Balfour, *Revival* ‘Joseph Kemp before Charlotte Chapel’ on accompanying CD-ROM

<sup>139</sup> Balfour, ‘Revival in Charlotte Chapel 1905-1907’ (Lecture given at the church 22 September 2005)

<sup>140</sup> *Citizen*, 16 June, 1905 p.5



These notices, submitted anonymously to the newspaper, give a picture of douce, respectable business and professional men, led by their pastor and elders 'in their frock coats and silk tile hats' singing as they led the march along Edinburgh's main street.<sup>141</sup> However, the newspaper report fails to say what kind of attention they attracted.

Not all, however, were in favour of the Welsh-style revivalism. An example of this type of reaction is that of W.B. Nicholson, pastor of the Scotch Baptist Church meeting in Bristo Place. Addressing a meeting in the Young Men's Christian Association on Sunday 19 March 1905, Nicholson said

he had not seen the Revival in Wales at white heat. Much of the excitement had died out but the religious fervour was as deep and strong as ever. The revival had its rise in the prayer meetings. He never heard prayer like it in Scotland and he did not know that he would like to hear it. The excitement and shouting were native to Wales but foreign to Scotland. Yet they wanted prayer and revival in Scotland. He believed they were to have it.<sup>142</sup>

Such questioning of the emotionalism engendered by the Welsh experience repeated the criticism of the earlier revivals, even among their supporters. The influence of the later nineteenth-century American style of evangelism, such as exemplified by Moody and Torrey, led to the use of singing 'as a deliberate means of whipping up congregational fervour.'<sup>143</sup> This resulted in an emphasis on feelings rather than a proper understanding of the Christian faith so that it was difficult to know whether the person was really converted to Christ. Church membership came

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<sup>141</sup> Balfour, *Revival* p. 101

<sup>142</sup> *Citizen*, 24 March, 1905 p.5

<sup>143</sup> Tudur Jones, *Faith and the Crisis*, p.357

to be equated with attendance at services.<sup>144</sup> Because of this, there were some who doubted whether such conversions would last.

Nevertheless, despite Nicholson's reservations, a comparison of membership lists between 1905 and 1907 shows that almost sixty new members joined Bristo Place. However, this increase was balanced by losses due to deaths and other reasons so that the total membership remained static. Of these new members, the overwhelming majority, forty-two, were women. Did revival appeal more to women or were they generally more interested in religion? This question will be explored when we compare the membership of individual churches. (Chapter 5)

So the revival of 1905 passed. Its impact on Edinburgh, and indeed on Scotland, was less intense and occurred over a shorter timescale than in Wales. One explanation is that the majority of church-goers in Wales were non-conformists. From the 1890s there was considerable pressure for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales, which finally was enacted in 1914, although the outbreak of war delayed its implementation until 1920.<sup>145</sup> The Welsh revival, therefore, took place during a period of church / state conflict. In Scotland, on the other hand, as we saw in the previous chapter, by 1905, the religious controversies were largely settled. Apart from some non-established Presbyterian churches, evangelicalism in 1905 was confined to the Independents. In Edinburgh the revival was concentrated on a few churches, driven very much by the individual ministers, whereas in Wales the impact was nation-wide.

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<sup>144</sup> *ibid.*, p. 365

<sup>145</sup> *ibid.*, p.384

Charlotte Chapel experienced a period of revival again, breaking out on 21 December 1906 and continuing for eight weeks. The emphasis was on prayer, which Kemp called 'prolonged intercession', with meetings taking place between 6 am and 8 am on Sunday mornings and again, after the normal services for worship were over, from 9.30 pm until after midnight.<sup>146</sup> In the summer of 1907 Kemp made his first journey to North America. While in New York, he visited in his home Ira D. Sankey, who was by then blind and very frail. Sankey recalled the 'wonderful blessing which came to Edinburgh in the seventies'. They prayed together and Sankey attempted to sing but could not. However, he still played his little cabinet organ which he had carried throughout his campaigns with Moody. Its keys were 'worn as thin as wafers by long use'.<sup>147</sup> Sankey died on 13 August 1908, two weeks before his 68<sup>th</sup> birthday. It must have been a poignant meeting between the two men.

Kemp was to remain as pastor of Charlotte Chapel until September 1915 when he was called to Calvary Baptist Church, New York. However, some of the Calvary congregation did not like his leadership style and as a result he resigned in 1917, but became minister of the Metropolitan Baptist Tabernacle, also in New York City. Following a breakdown in health, he returned to Edinburgh in 1919 to rest. In 1920 he was recommended as pastor for the Baptist Tabernacle in Auckland, New Zealand, where a previous minister had been Thomas Spurgeon, the son of Charles Spurgeon, the famous preacher. Kemp accepted the position and was to remain in Auckland where he ministered successfully until his death in 1933. His obituary in the Scottish Baptist Yearbook for 1934 records:

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<sup>146</sup> Balfour, *Revival*, p. 109

<sup>147</sup> 'Joseph Kemp's Appreciation of Ira D. Sankey' in Charlotte Chapel *Record* 1908 p.138 (on accompanying CD-ROM with Balfour, *Revival*.)

He was a fearless preacher, a man of passion for the welfare of men, and of intense devotion to Christ, and was willing to wear himself out in the service of God and of men.<sup>148</sup>

## Conclusion

In 1859-60, 1873-74 and 1904-5, especially in the churches most affected, there was a period of preparation in prayer both before and during the revivals. The 1859-60 and 1904-5 revivals were similar in that they occurred spontaneously, although there is more than a suggestion that much of the Edinburgh experience was contrived. The Moody and Sankey, campaign, on the other hand, was based on their personalities. It could be regarded, therefore, as the culmination of American style revivalism, which had been increasing gradually in influence during the nineteenth century. These influences brought more theatricality into evangelism, which some found attractive but which offended others. There was also the problem in every case of determining how far the revivals were successful in the long term.

On a social level the effects are more difficult to quantify. Whether church attendance or membership lasted is a question that will always be debated, as firm evidence is elusive. The records which have survived, as the examples above show, tell of those who became prominent nationally or within their own churches. Where the revival movement succeeded was in showing that lay men as well as ministers could preach the gospel, while women could play their part in church affairs just as well as men. Following the example of Mrs. Finney, it became acceptable after 1859 in some churches for women to lead meetings. Moody and Sankey built on the experience of previous revivals by training female counsellors to deal with

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<sup>148</sup> Scottish Baptist Yearbook 1934 p.148 (on CD-ROM with Balfour, *Revival*)

‘inquirers’. The trained choirs, too, had both male and female members, also cutting across the class boundaries which were so much a part of Edinburgh society.

The first two revivals brought the competing churches together in a common cause, co-operation which was closer in the second. As has been indicated, this was most notable in the Presbyterian denominations. We saw in Chapter 2 that the Free Church and the United Presbyterians had just failed, after ten years negotiation, to agree an incorporated union in 1873. Yet their ministers shared a platform and took part in united prayer meetings during the Moody and Sankey campaign. Could a formal union be possible after all? The progress towards this was hindered by the bitterness of the campaign for disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, which, again as discussed in Chapter 2, divided opinion both within the Established Church and among the voluntary churches. Such conflict took time to heal, and union of the two major Presbyterian seceding churches was not proposed again until 1896 and finally accomplished by 1900.

However, this union was not entirely without controversy. The Free Church had divided in two in 1893 with strict Calvinists forming the Free Presbyterian Church in what became known as the Second Disruption. This description is considerably exaggerated since, as we saw in the previous chapter, only a tiny minority seceded on this occasion. As the Free Presbyterians were overwhelmingly based in the Highlands, this recalls the conflict between Kennedy and Bonar in 1873-74. These events could have been connected, as there is a suggestion that the issue between the two men was one of interpretation, with neither being able to understand the other’s culture. The Highlander regarded criticism of his religious practices as an attack on

‘true’ religion, while the Lowlander was too intellectual, lacking the ‘one thing needful’.<sup>149</sup>

With the exception of 1904-5, later evangelistic campaigns tended to be concentrated on a particular church or association of churches. These campaigns were localised so received little attention nationally. The emphasis was more on individual contact or the attractiveness of a particular preacher in one church. A return to mass evangelism was seen in the All Scotland Crusade headed by the American evangelist, Billy Graham, in Glasgow during the spring of 1955. With the focus on one preacher, the use of a soloist, George Beverly Shea, and massed choir, the appeal at the end of the service, counselling and follow-up of converts, there were definite similarities in methodology to Moody and Sankey. Like them, too, Graham had the support of local ministers who had prepared thoroughly beforehand. By then in his seventies, Graham paid a final brief visit to Scotland from 25 May to 8 June 1991 with rallies in football stadia in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow. However, with these exceptions, the days of mass evangelism would appear to be over.

In the following chapter we will examine the contribution of the churches to education before the state took over school provision. Their concern for health and welfare will also be considered, some of which was directly attributable to the revival movements, as people sought to give practical expression to their faith.

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<sup>149</sup> James Lachlan MacLeod, *The Second Disruption*, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press 2000), pp. 170-171

## **CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL CONCERNS AND THE CHURCHES**

### **Introduction**

As we have seen in Chapter 1, Edinburgh was a city of contrasts. Suburban development throughout the nineteenth century meant that the population became more socially divided as the middle-classes moved to the new residential areas in the south and west, following a similar exodus from the Old to the New Town a hundred years earlier. More and more, during the second half of the nineteenth century, the churches became focal points for social concern as the Town Council of Edinburgh was unable to cope with the consequences of a rapidly increasing population. Ministers in various denominations, including the Church of Scotland and Free Church, led the way in bringing about improvements, especially in education, housing and social welfare. The alleviation of poverty and the raising of standards of behaviour were crucial, as only then could full advantage be taken of the opportunities offered. Gradually, however, both local and national government took control over many of these functions, until by the end of the period the churches had lost their dominant role.

The stark contrast of life styles between rich and poor is shown in the philanthropy, which was a hallmark of the Victorian middle-class. This was motivated in part by evangelical Christianity, intensified by the century's religious revivals. Voluntary organisations sprang up to assist various causes and promote middle-class values. Such activity has been called 'the practical means by which the

middle class could engage their hegemonic grip'.<sup>1</sup> However, this judgement takes no account of those who saw such voluntary work among the poor as the practical outworking of a genuine Christian faith.

Subscription to these philanthropic societies became a badge of respectability. The highest accolade was to have Queen Victoria as patron. Frequently the Lord Provost, because of his position, or the Duke of Buccleuch, as the region's biggest landowner, filled the role of president.<sup>2</sup> Among the most prominent societies were the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society and its off-shoot the British League of Juvenile Abstainers. Hospital charities raised money to support the Royal Infirmary and, in 1859, proposed the foundation of the Hospital for Sick Children.

The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, founded in 1841, was among the first to promote medical missions. One of the Society's aims was

to promote the acceptance of the role of the Christian doctor in the missionary strategy of the Churches.<sup>3</sup>

However, as their initial attempts to recruit qualified medical men to serve overseas were unsuccessful, it was decided in March 1852 to assist suitable students to train for missionary service. In 1853 a dispensary was opened at the West Port by Dr. Handyside, one of the Society's founders, to provide medical services for the poor of that area. This was the first such dispensary in Britain and became the Training

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<sup>1</sup> Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland 1830-1860*, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press 1999), p.64

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p.70

<sup>3</sup> John Wilkinson, *The Coogate Doctors : The History of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society 1841-1991*, (Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society 1991), p.7



Institute for the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society.<sup>4</sup> Soon larger premises were required and in 1858 the dispensary was transferred to 39 Cowgate, a former whisky shop next to the Magdalene Chapel. A new building was erected on the site in 1877, the foundation stone having been laid by Dr. Robert Moffat, father-in-law of the famous missionary and explorer of Africa, David Livingstone, who had died in 1873. Known as the Livingstone Medical Missionary Memorial, this clinic became the most important aspect of the Society's work, providing practical experience for the medical students in addition to financial assistance.

The main problem areas of social concern in Edinburgh, however, remained education and housing.

#### **4.1 Education**

Education became a major concern as the nineteenth century progressed. In the earlier years there were several types of school available. The burgh school, for example Edinburgh's Royal High School, was provided by the Town Council and was concerned mainly with secondary education. Parochial, or sessional, schools were operated by individual kirk sessions for the children of their parishes, while private, or adventure, schools could be run by almost anyone 'subject to a vague right of supervision by the local Presbytery'.<sup>5</sup> The ideal of 'a school in every parish' had been the aim of the sixteenth century Reformers. However, it was the "Act of Settling Schools" passed in 1696 which made it compulsory that

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<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* p.14

<sup>5</sup> Stewart Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development 1780-1870*, (London: Oxford University Press 1960), p. 138

there be a School settled and established, and a Schoolmaster appointed, in every parish not already provided by the advice of the heritors and ministers of the parish.<sup>6</sup>

While the heritors were responsible for paying the teachers, responsibility for operating the schools rested with the kirk sessions, ‘thereby strengthening the bonds between religion and education’.<sup>7</sup>

In 1824 the General Assembly appointed a Committee on Education to co-ordinate the provision of church schools. A year later this Committee established and supported its own schools, Assembly Schools, to supplement those provided by the kirk sessions. The situation was complicated further in 1838 where, in *quoad sacra* (extension) parishes, the heritors built the schools and schoolhouses while the government paid the teachers’ salaries. Because fees were charged in most schools and education was not compulsory, many children did not attend school. Accordingly, educational provision was patchy and varied widely. The aim was to teach the children to be good citizens, based firmly on biblical principles with the emphasis on the Westminster Confession and Shorter Catechism.

#### **4.1.1 Edinburgh Academy**

The social stratification of Edinburgh had an impact on education within the city. The wealthier inhabitants of the New Town were concerned that the High School was overcrowded and difficult for their sons to reach. In 1823, therefore, they decided to found an “English” public (ie private) school in the area. This became

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<sup>6</sup> James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, 2 vols. (London: University of London Press 1969), I, p.53

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*

Edinburgh Academy, a rival to the High School. The Academy was financed by shareholders and charged much higher fees than the town's school. Among the board of directors were Henry Cockburn, Walter Scott, and two members of the Dundas family. The aim of the school was

to enable Scots boys to compete with English public-school boys for the more important posts in the Empire.<sup>8</sup>

While the curriculum was broadly similar to that of the High School, there was a greater emphasis on Greek, and the Scots tongue (which Cockburn himself still spoke) was banished. Edinburgh Academy became 'an Anglophile school'.<sup>9</sup> This process of anglicisation became one of the defining characteristics of upper-class Edinburgh. As Cockburn himself commented in his *Journal* on 11 August 1844,

Scotch has ceased to be the vernacular language of the upper classes, and this change will go on increasing with the increasing intercourse which rolls the language of the greater people over our surface.<sup>10</sup>

#### **4.1.2 Thomas Guthrie and the Ragged School Movement**

As with so much else, the children of the poorest were left out of any educational provision. This was to change with the appointment of Thomas Guthrie to the collegiate charge of Old Greyfriars in September 1837. At that time two congregations met there and Guthrie agreed to accept the charge

on the strict understanding that he should, ere long, be released from the pulpit of Old Greyfriars, and have a field cut out for himself from that too large parish.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Miller, *Cockburn's Millenium*, p.46

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.* p.47

<sup>10</sup> Cockburn, *Journal*, II, p.89

<sup>11</sup> Guthrie, *Thomas Guthrie*, p.305

While his congregation was predominantly middle- and upper- class, Guthrie's concern was for the poor of the crowded hovels surrounding the church, from which they were absent. Guthrie saw his mission to put into practice Thomas Chalmers' plan, as convener of the Church Extension Committee, to reorganise the parish system into manageable units of 2,000 inhabitants in which the churches would fulfil their responsibilities regarding religious instruction, poor relief and education. His new church, St. John's, built in what is now Victoria Street, was opened in November 1840. Six hundred and fifty seats, covering the whole area of the church, were 'reserved as absolutely free seats for residents of the parish, poor or rich, who applied for them'.<sup>12</sup>

Concerned that the poor children in the areas surrounding his church were not receiving education and were descending into criminality, in 1847 Guthrie published his *Plea for Ragged Schools*, setting out the case for such schools in Edinburgh. The origins of the 'ragged school' movement are uncertain. In 1810 Thomas Cranfield had established a school for 'children unsuitable for the Sunday schools' in Camberwell but he concentrated only on teaching them.<sup>13</sup> Ten years later, Thomas Pounds of Portsmouth established the methodology of these schools by insisting that the children had to be fed and clothed before they could be taught.<sup>14</sup> In 1841 the first Scottish 'ragged schools' had been established in Aberdeen by Sheriff Watson, who gave the destitute children free food, clothing and training for work as well as basic

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<sup>12</sup> *ibid.* p.324

<sup>13</sup> Kathleen Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action: An Appraisal of their Social Work in the Victorian Era*, (London: Geoffrey Bles 1962), p.71

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*

education. A few years later, in November 1844, Thomas Chalmers opened three schools in Edinburgh's West Port, separate day schools for boys and girls and evening classes for the young people of the area.<sup>15</sup> The West Port was regarded as one of the most destitute and notorious districts in the city. Yet Chalmers' schools achieved considerable success with 250 attending the day schools and 70 the evening classes at the end of the first year.<sup>16</sup> Despite these precedents Thomas Guthrie's name is for ever associated with the Scottish Ragged School movement as his promotion of the system was the catalyst for their later development throughout Scotland. It has been stated that, unlike the Ragged Schools in England, those in Scotland were never residential.<sup>17</sup> However, this requires further investigation.

For establishing his schools Guthrie obtained support from the publisher and Lord Provost, Adam Black, who was, as we saw in Chapter 1, the first dissenter to be elected to that office. Under Black's auspices, the Association for the Establishment of Ragged Industrial Schools for Destitute Children in Edinburgh was formed to carry forward the plan for a Ragged School there. The aims of the Association were set out in a Constitution and Rules, the first clause of which was as follows:-

It is the object of this Association to reclaim the neglected and destitute children of Edinburgh, by affording them the benefits of a good common and Christian Education, and by training them to habits of regular industry, so as to enable them to earn an honest livelihood, and fit them for the duties of life.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Stewart J Brown, 'The Disruption and Urban Poverty: Thomas Chalmers and the West Port Operation in Edinburgh, 1844-47' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 20 (1980) 65-89 (p.77)

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.* p.78

<sup>17</sup> Heasman, *Evangelicals* p77

<sup>18</sup> NCL Special Collection A.b 1/13/18 Thomas Guthrie, *Supplement to A Plea for Ragged Schools*, (Edinburgh: John Elder 1847), p.12

Specifically excluded were children already attending school, those whose parents earned enough to provide for their education and children receiving assistance from the parish authorities. The Association concentrated on those whom the limited welfare provision of the period had failed to reach, rescuing the children from the poorest environment so that they could become useful (that is economically productive) citizens. Their physical and material nourishment was just as important as their spiritual welfare, special provision being made for Sundays when, although there was no school

the children shall receive food as on other days, and such religious instruction as shall be arranged by the Acting Committee.<sup>19</sup>

There were two classes of membership of the Association, subscribers contributing a minimum of ten shillings annually and donors who could give five pounds or more. Committees were elected to regulate business, to determine where the schools should be established, and to appoint teachers. At the heart of the Association's aims was the desire to

teach them the truths of the gospel, making the Holy Scriptures the groundwork of instruction.<sup>20</sup>

By the end of the year three schools had been established, one for boys, one for girls, and one for both boys and girls under the age of ten. Two hundred and sixty-five children in total were catered for. These children were saved from a life of

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<sup>19</sup> *ibid.* p.13

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*

criminality, as the juvenile prison population dropped from 5% in 1847 to less than 1% in 1851.<sup>21</sup> In that respect one of the aims of the Association were met.

In 1852 a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the condition of ‘criminal and destitute juveniles in this country’ and determine what changes were necessary ‘to combine reformation with the due correction of juvenile crime’.<sup>22</sup> Because of his work with the Ragged Schools, Guthrie gave evidence to that Committee. As a result of the Committee’s work, legislation was passed whereby children under sixteen were sent to reformatory schools rather than jail for their criminal offences. In addition vagrant children under fourteen

found begging, or not having any home or settled place of abode or proper guardianship, and having no visible means of subsistence found wandering

were committed to ‘a certified Industrial School’ for five years, even though they had not contravened any laws.<sup>23</sup>

Initially the government gave grants of fifty shillings per annum for each child in the certified Industrial Schools, of which Dr. Guthrie’s Ragged School was one, but this was gradually reduced and eventually withdrawn. This caused a serious deficit in the funds of the Original Ragged School. To meet the shortfall of £700 a public meeting was convened in November 1860 and an appeal was made to the people of Edinburgh who gave a total of £2,200 including £157 ‘raised entirely by domestic servants in Edinburgh’.<sup>24</sup> Government grants were restored in 1866 but they covered

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<sup>21</sup> Guthrie, *Thomas Guthrie*, p.459

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.* p.465

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.* p.471

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* p.479

only those children who had been sent to the Schools by magistrates, a minority of the pupils who actually attended. Commenting on the situation in a letter to a friend, Guthrie wrote:

But here we are in the meantime; we have hundreds of children in this town for whom, at the present moment, no provision is made, and, as you know, the object of the Ragged School is to meet the case at present, until society takes it up on a large and proper scale.<sup>25</sup>

He foresaw that the only lasting solution was a national system of compulsory education, which was to come into operation shortly before his death.

Thomas Guthrie died in February 1873. Thirty thousand people lined the streets as his funeral procession passed to the Grange Cemetery. Among the robed dignitaries and church leaders were two hundred and thirty children from the Original Ragged Schools. At the end of the ceremony, the superintendent of the Schools led forward a little boy and girl who laid a wreath on the newly filled grave. Thomas Guthrie was the only father they had ever known.

#### **4.1.3 Parish and Denominational Schools**

Between the classical splendour of the Edinburgh Academy and the poverty of the Ragged Schools was the parish school, conducted by the church for the children of the parish. An example of this type of school was St. Stephen's, a city congregation founded by the Town Council to cater for the growing population of the New Town. The Council had discussed the matter of creating a new parish in 1822, when they opened negotiations for the site. Parliamentary sanction was necessary and this was granted in 1827 when approval was given for 'a church in St. Vincent Street at

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<sup>25</sup> *ibid.* p.482



present building'.<sup>26</sup> The church, designed by William Playfair, was opened on 21 December 1828 with Dr. William Muir, formerly of New Greyfriars, as its first minister. Soon after his appointment, Dr. Muir started three schools, for infants, for boys, and for girls. Until the school premises were built the classes were held in 'what would now be accounted a cellar' under the church.<sup>27</sup> The schools were run by a committee of members of the congregation. Modest fees were charged, although these could be remitted in cases of need.

Occasionally the payment of fees caused problems which were referred to the Kirk Session. The minutes of the meeting of 1 December 1851 record the following:-

Some conversation took place regarding the great number of children attending the schools who paid no fees and others only a small portion. It was remitted to Messrs Elder and (Smith) above to meet with Mr Smith the teacher to consider if any plan could be devised whereby the parents of such children could be made to pay fees, or at least a part, and to report.<sup>28</sup>

On 1 March 1852, a report was given to the Session who approved the principles it contained (though these are not stated in the minutes) and remitted the matter to the School Committee to implement. This does not appear to have had much effect for on 6 December the question of fees was raised again.

Some conversation took place regarding the schedules to be filled up by parties applying for reduction of the school fees. Mr Mure reported two cases where the parties declined to fill up the schedules viz. Thomas, a butler in full employment in the country, and a widow Fisher in India Place. The Session were of opinion that the children of parents whose circumstances enabled them to pay should not be received gratis; and it was remitted to the School Committee to enquire into the two cases referred to, and

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<sup>26</sup> Sands, *St. Stephen's*, p3

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.* p.99

<sup>28</sup> CH2/607/1 St. Stephen's Church of Scotland Kirk Session Minutes 1829-1861, p.249

after satisfying themselves to give such directions to Mr Smith as the facts appear to warrant.<sup>29</sup>

Each month the Kirk Session appointed two of their number in rotation to examine the schools and report to the next meeting. As can be seen from the following example for 4 December 1865, these reports were generally favourable.

Messrs G Smith & Scott reported that the schools continued to be successfully conducted. The average attendance for the month was infants 100, girls 120, boys 129. The attendance at the infant school was diminished by the prevalence of scarlet fever. The visitors reported as to a want of cleanliness in some parts of the establishment, which the Moderator stated the Ladies Committee would be requested to attend to.<sup>30</sup>

The note regarding the effects of epidemic illness on attendance highlights a constant problem and there is also the hint of a reprimand regarding the 'want of cleanliness'. The Kirk Session, therefore, did not regard their duties as overseers of parish education lightly. The success of St. Stephen's School can be measured by the numbers on the roll, which in the 1860s and 1870s reached between 500 and 600 children when 'the accommodation was taxed to the uttermost'.<sup>31</sup>

The Disruption of 1843, discussed in Chapter 2, affected education, as well as dividing the Church of Scotland. Teachers in parish schools had to be approved by the Established Church. Those who left to join the Free Church therefore lost their employment and often their homes. The new Free Church quickly set up its own schools throughout the country. In addition two teacher training colleges were established, one each in Edinburgh and Glasgow, thus duplicating the Church of

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<sup>29</sup> *ibid.* p 274

<sup>30</sup> CH2/607/2 Minutes 1861-1880, pp.80-81

<sup>31</sup> Sands, *St. Stephen's* p.100

Scotland provision, as that Church had the legal responsibility for such training. For example, the Edinburgh Free Church Training College, Moray House, first operated under the Edinburgh Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers and was transferred in 1905 to the control of the Scotch Education Department.<sup>32</sup> Other denominations also had their own schools.

#### **4.1.4 Towards a National Education System**

With the diversity of school provision now in place, it was evident that only the government could unify Scottish education. Between 1854 and 1869 James Moncrieff, the Lord Advocate, who was then responsible for all government business in Scotland, tried to establish a system of non-sectarian, publicly funded schools for Scotland controlled by a central education authority based in Edinburgh. These attempts failed as English Members of Parliament feared that, if the Church of Scotland lost its educational privileges, the Church of England, too, would come under attack. Thus in 1854, while two-thirds of the Scottish members voted for the Bill, the House of Commons rejected it 'by weight of English votes'.<sup>33</sup>

In the 1860s the government had set up a Commission, chaired by the Duke of Argyll, to investigate education in Scotland. Their reports indicated that the widespread variation throughout the country, both in numbers attending the parish and burgh schools and in the quality of teaching, made a centrally controlled system of education inevitable. In addition, the Education Act of 1870 had introduced a compulsory system of elementary education into England so that an equivalent

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<sup>32</sup> Renamed the Scottish Education Department in 1918

<sup>33</sup> Smout, *Scottish People*, p.214

Scottish Bill ‘was no longer seen as threatening’ to English Members of Parliament.<sup>34</sup> The proposed Bill, however, met with opposition within Scotland, sometimes from unexpected quarters. The Church of Scotland Education Committee hoped that the 1870 Act could be amended to include Scotland on the grounds that it

requires the institution of School Boards only where there is proved educational destitution, and confines the authoritative action of these Boards to the Schools which they themselves institute.<sup>35</sup>

In other words, where parish schools worked well the Committee saw no need to change them. Behind this concern, of course, was the Church’s desire to retain control of religious instruction, which they perceived to be threatened when education was under state control. However, with the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, a national system of education, making school attendance compulsory between the ages of five and thirteen, was established. Public schools, in the Scottish sense of the term, came under the control of locally elected school boards whose members, including church representatives, were ratepayers.

The boards were empowered to levy rates and borrow money to build their own schools. Those private schools, and others which chose to remain outwith the new system, were no longer eligible for support from the rates. The existing burgh and parish, including Free Church, schools gradually transferred to the new boards. The exception was the Roman Catholic schools which did not come under local authority control until 1918.

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<sup>34</sup> D. J. Withrington, ‘Education (Scotland) Acts, 1872 and 1918’ in *DSCHT*, pp. 277-278 (p.277)

<sup>35</sup> ‘Report of the Education Committee’ in *Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland 1873* (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Son, 1873) pp.5-60 (pp.5-6)

Despite their opposition, the Church of Scotland Education Committee had to work within the new system. However, they encouraged sessional schools, such as St. Stephen's, to continue as voluntary denominational schools with the aid of government grants

on the ground that it is essential that the Church should have the means of securing throughout the country, the continuance of Religious Instruction in consonance with the established faith of the country.<sup>36</sup>

The Committee proposed to continue supporting these schools which were already receiving assistance, but not to assist additional schools unless they were

satisfied that the denominational character of these schools is essential to the proper religious instruction of the district in which they are placed.<sup>37</sup>

The 1874 Education Committee Report reveals the following “private” schools in Edinburgh Presbytery registered for the inspection of religious education:-

St Johns	Johnstone Terrace	GA	[General Assembly]
Buccleugh ( <i>sic</i> )	Hope Park Square	Adv	[Adventure]
Tron	14 Niddry Street	Sess	[Sessional]
Greenside	Greenside Row	Sess	
Canongate	261 Canongate	GA	
Canongate	261 Canongate	GA	[two schools]
St Andrews	Thistle Street	Sess	
St Georges	10 Young Street	Sess	
New Greyfriars	Vennel	Sess	
St Stephens	58 Brunswick Street	Sess	
Cramond	Corbie Hill	Sess	
Newhaven	Newhaven	Sess	<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid.* p.8

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> ‘Report of the Education Committee 1874’ in *Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland 1874* (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Son 1874) pp. 5-102 (p.44 )

With the exception of Buccleuch, all these schools belonged to the relevant Kirk Session or to the General Assembly.

Encouraged by the Church of Scotland Education Committee, therefore, St. Stephen's continued to operate its schools for some time after the 1872 Act came into operation, but from the 1890s it became evident that they could not compete with the state system. The story can be gleaned from the Kirk Session minutes. At their meeting on 7 October 1889, the Moderator reported that the School had re-opened with a full attendance of scholars. However, the School Committee

found that there was no alternative but to follow the action of the School Board and give free education to all the children up to and including those in the 5<sup>th</sup> Standard.<sup>39</sup>

Although approved by the Session, there were obvious consequences regarding the School's income. The question of continuing is then raised.

[The Moderator] further stated that as it was not expected the Government grant would equal what had been received from fees, it might come to be necessary to consider as to continuing the school. After some conversation it was arranged the Moderator should communicate with the Secretary of the Board of Education as to how the government grant, which was given towards the existence of the school, would be dealt with in the event of it being discontinued.<sup>40</sup>

When the Board Schools began to provide free books as well as free education, a special meeting of the Session was called for 10 March 1890 to consider the whole question. After 'full discussion' it was agreed

to intimate to the School Board that the schools are to be discontinued after the close of the present financial year, and the Clerk was directed to make the necessary intimation.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> CH2/607/3 Minutes 1880-1904, p. 138

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Minutes 10 March 1890, p. 143

In May 1890 the School Board announced that they would take over ‘such of the teachers as might be found qualified’ but ‘draft the children to their other schools.’ St. Stephen’s, however, would retain the building for other purposes after the closure at the end of that session.<sup>42</sup>

The position of the St. Stephen’s School headmaster illustrates the uncertainties which affected parish school teachers then. Alexander Smith had been appointed in 1847 and, with the School’s closure, he agreed to retire. The Session paid a fulsome tribute to him, thus:

He has been most faithful and successful as a teacher of youth, and has enjoyed the unfailing confidence of the Kirk Session and successive Ministers of St Stephens (*sic*). In view of his present retirement the Session resolved to convey to him this tribute of their gratitude and respect with their best wishes for his future comfort.<sup>43</sup>

Smith’s ‘comfort’ was to be short-lived. As there was no national pension scheme, his ‘retiral allowance’ was the responsibility of St. Stephen’s Church. They offered him £80 per annum or a capital sum of £500. Smith opted for the latter which had to be borrowed from the bank. To cover this cost, an appeal was made to the congregation for subscriptions ‘adjusted by the Committee appointed for that purpose’.<sup>44</sup> In December 1891 he wrote to the Session, complaining that he had not received any payment for his daughter’s services in the school.<sup>45</sup> This was refused on the grounds that he had received payment for her services in increased government

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<sup>42</sup> Minutes 12 May 1890, pp.146-147

<sup>43</sup> Minutes 13 July 1890, p.147

<sup>44</sup> Minutes 3 November 1890, p.153

<sup>45</sup> Minutes 7 December 1891, p.168

grant.<sup>46</sup> At the same meeting it was noted that the congregational contributions to his retiral allowance fell short by £200 which had to be made up from the Kirk Session's funds. The minutes of the next meeting on 11 January 1892 record Smith's death and again a laudatory tribute was paid to him.<sup>47</sup> However, we have the impression that his final few months could not have been very happy.

From this evidence, St. Stephen's was very successful as a parish school with a long-serving headmaster and an increasing number of pupils. Throughout its history it was strongly supported by the congregation. In this the church's situation played a significant part. As a New Town church, St. Stephen's benefited from the wealth of its members. The pupils of the school, however, would be drawn from the lower-middle and artisan class, who lived on the fringes of the New Town. Their parents could afford the modest fees the school charged. It was only with the introduction and development of the state education system after 1872 that St. Stephen's was no longer viable. Such schools had outlived their usefulness.

Accordingly, during the nineteenth century, we see the transition from church to state educational provision for the majority of children. While the parish schools had ensured that most in their areas received a basic education, the plight of the Ragged School children revealed that many, because of poverty and parental indifference, were not being reached. The creation of denominational schools, particularly the post-Disruption duplication of resources, led to fragmentation which only a state-organised system could rectify. With the 1872 Education Act, therefore, the authority of the Church in a key area was eroded.

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<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.* Minutes 11 January 1892, p.169



## 4.2 Housing

The period from about 1830 onwards was one in which there was increasing concern over the condition of the poor in the cities. However, there was little government control over the situation. While the Royal Burgh Reform Act of 1834 had made Police Commissioners responsible for municipal functions like lighting, cleansing, and water supplies, the results were piecemeal. All four cities and each burgh passed their own Police Acts to control these functions. Regulations regarding sanitary and building bylaws were not made compulsory until the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act 1892 and the Public Health (Scotland) Act 1897.<sup>48</sup> Before these legislative changes, therefore, the main burden in alleviating the social conditions fell to the Church.

The extent of the problem may be ascertained from the description of the 1849 investigations made by Dr. George Bell into housing conditions in the High Street. In an illuminating footnote he gives statistics for fever patients admitted to the Royal Infirmary from 1845 to 1848. Of the 6,528 patients residing in Edinburgh, there were:

1,103 in the High Street and adjoining closes  
 1,690 in the Cowgate and adjoining closes  
 1,281 in the West Port, Grassmarket  
 and adjoining closes  
 2,449 for Canongate, Calton, Greenside  
 and Water of Leith , including the whole of the  
 south side, and the whole of the New Town <sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Smout, *Scottish People*, p.41

<sup>49</sup> NCL Special Collection Nd 7/21 George Bell M.D., *Day and Night in the Wynds of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh: Johnston and Hunter, 1849) p.4 footnote

Bell proceeds to describe the effects of typhus on one family. The two parents and five or six children lived in a small room ‘in a large and lofty tenement at the bottom of the High Street’. Typhus was rife throughout the building, all the rooms of which were similarly occupied. The father, ‘an industrious yet half-starved mechanic’ died. While not fully recovered, the mother found some work but her strength failed and, destitute, the family was forced to find shelter in a lodging house, ‘absorbed into the class which is at once a disgrace and a peril to our country.’<sup>50</sup> So illness and the loss of the father led to a family’s decline in an age when poor relief was totally inadequate.

One who perhaps did most to alleviate the problems of poor housing was James Begg, from November 1843 minister of Newington Free Church, situated in a growing suburb to the south of the city. Begg was to remain the minister there for forty years. His concern for the living conditions of the poor was evident during his previous ministry at Liberton, then an agricultural and mining village a few miles from Edinburgh. By bringing the situation of the farm labourers and miners to the notice of their employers he succeeded in ‘having most wretched huts superseded by neat and comfortable cottages’.<sup>51</sup> This experience stood him in good stead when he was faced with far greater problems in Edinburgh. His campaign for better housing began with a series of letters to the *Witness*, the Free Church magazine, in 1849. The following introductory letter gives a graphic description of the scenes which faced him as he visited the poor tenements of the Old Town. The scene is almost mediaeval in its horror. Note, too, the analogy of the coal mine, with which Begg would have

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<sup>50</sup> *ibid.* p.5

<sup>51</sup> Thomas Smith, *James Begg*, I, p.312

been familiar during his pastorate in Liberton. Is he saying that the peoples' living conditions are worse than those in a mine?

Now, let anyone go into this region and examine it, and he will see what a frightful mess it is. Let him take any close at random, [---] We entered a very narrow and filthy wynd; we plunged into a black opening, more like the mouth of a coalpit than the entrance to human habitations, and after forcing our way up a dark, ruinous staircase redolent of damp pestilential vapour we reached the uppermost flat, and opened a door. We were nearly knocked down by the horrid vapour by which we were assailed, and were glad to get a bundle of rags torn out of the broken windows to secure a mouthful of fresh air. We found two mothers and a number of children inhabiting this miserable apartment for which a shilling a week was paid. There was one bed of rotten straw in a corner for the whole inmates; and we found that this was only one of six houses of a similar kind on the same stair-head, making the whole population of this wretched and ruinous tenement to be greater than that of a considerable country village.<sup>52</sup>

The population density, the airlessness and filth meant that disease would be rife. As well as care for their physical well-being, Begg was concerned that his poorer parishioners might fall victim to crime and vice because of their situation. His solution was to form societies 'for the advancement of money to working men to aid them in the erection or purchase of dwelling houses'.<sup>53</sup> His reasoning was to encourage upward mobility among hard-working men, so reducing pauperism and crime at their source. Only the better paid artisan could take advantage of these co-operative efforts, since the cost of purchase or renting such property was beyond the means of the poorest.

In June 1859, Begg wrote to the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, regarding the population census which was due to take place in 1861. He wanted the government to obtain as much information as possible about the condition of the people,

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<sup>52</sup> *ibid.* II, pp. 130-131

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.* p. 264

suggesting that the census should ask for ‘the number of apartments in each inhabited house’ and also the number of children attending school. Because it was too late to influence the English census, as the preparations were so far advanced, only the Scottish returns included such information.<sup>54</sup> Thus the Scottish census was more informative and provided a good indication of the social class of each household.

When the census information on housing was published in 1862, Begg raised the matter at a Presbytery meeting in July. The results were worse than he had feared, as can be seen from his statement.

In Edinburgh there were 121 families living in single rooms without windows, and 13,209 families –say 50,000 persons –living in houses of one apartment with a window. Of these 825 had six persons in a room, 437 had seven, 173 had eight, 55 had nine, 26 had ten, 8 had eleven, 3 had twelve, 1 had thirteen, 1 had fourteen, and 1 had fifteen! <sup>55</sup>

In giving this account to Presbytery, Begg amply justified his stance in seeking to improve housing for the working man. Despite his efforts, however, such was the pressure on accommodation for the growing population of the city that the homes in the poorest parts were still occupied, including ancient buildings in and around the High Street. Fires and collapsing buildings were recurring problems. For example, on 15 August 1857, a nine-storey tenement in North Bank Street at the top of the Mound was gutted by fire, rendering almost one hundred people homeless.<sup>56</sup> At midnight on 10 November 1863 a ‘stately old stone tenement’, which had stood for almost 250

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<sup>54</sup> *ibid.* pp. 279, 286

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.* p.324

<sup>56</sup> Gilbert, *Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century*, p.129 (The building had contained the homes of David Hume and James Boswell.)

years at the head of Bailie Fyfe's Close, 107 High Street, collapsed without warning, 'shooting out into the broad street a mighty heap of rubbish'. Thirty-five of the inhabitants were buried in the ruins. A few managed to survive and were dug out of the rubble, one with the cry, "Heave awa', lads, I'm no deid yet!" The new building which replaced the ruin, known as "Heave Awa' Close", can still be seen with its memorial to the disaster.<sup>57</sup>

These, and similar tragedies, drew attention to the housing conditions of the poorer classes. Public meetings were arranged and a deputation sent to the Town Council to make representations on the problem. This deputation led to the appointment of Dr. (later Sir) Henry Littlejohn as the first Medical Officer of Health for the city with responsibility for controlling the spread of epidemic disease and improving sanitary conditions, the first such appointment in Scotland. His resulting research, published in 1865 as *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh*, led to the Lord Provost, William Chambers, taking up the cause of sanitary reform. This was achieved through private legislation in Parliament, the Edinburgh City Improvement Bill, enacted on 31 May 1867.

The provisions of the Act involved the clearance on health grounds of thirty-four separate areas within the mediaeval Old Town. A quarter of the residents were 'displaced from their homes involuntarily'.<sup>58</sup> Between 1868 and 1875 over 2,700 homes were demolished but only 340 new dwellings were constructed.<sup>59</sup> New or

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<sup>57</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, I, p.240

<sup>58</sup> Lou Rosenberg and Jim Johnson "'Conservative Surgery' in Old Edinburgh 1880-1940' in *Edinburgh the Making of a Capital City* ed. by Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005) pp. 131-149 (p.132)

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*

expanded streets in the vicinity of the High Street included Jeffrey Street, Blackfriars Street and St. Mary's Street. However, as with Begg's building co-operative, these new tenement flats were designed for skilled artisans so the rents were beyond the reach of the very poorest. Not all benefited from the building boom.

### **4.3 Moral Welfare**

Since the 1830s temperance societies had been established to campaign against the trade in alcohol which was seen as the cause of much urban poverty. These societies recruited members from within the churches, offering an alternative social environment to the public house. They provided libraries and reading rooms, formed debating societies and other clubs with tea or coffee instead of alcohol. As an alternative to prison, refuges for 'inebriates' were established, such as, from 1866, Queensberry Lodge Asylum for ladies only. They were 'usually admitted on the urgent solicitation of friends'.<sup>60</sup> This suggests that not only the urban poor suffered problems with alcoholism.

Their work among the poor of the city had shown Thomas Guthrie and James Begg that alcohol consumption contributed to much urban poverty. Yet for the poor man the inn was a refuge from the squalor of his overcrowded surroundings. In their campaign against the evils of the 'drink trade' the two Free Church ministers were joined by John Kirk, minister of Brighton Street Evangelical Union Church, who, as shown in Chapter 3, had played such a prominent role in the 1859 revival in Edinburgh. Indeed, the temperance movement as a whole was linked very closely

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<sup>60</sup> Thomas Crosberry, 'Drunkenness, Abstinence and Restraint', *Edinburgh Review*, 137 (1873), 398-421 (p. 418)

with the nineteenth century revivals. For Kirk, abstinence, rather than temperance, was inseparable from the gospel. He considered that no one who obeyed Christ's injunction to love one's neighbour as oneself 'could make or sell a poison that ruined the bodies and souls of men'.<sup>61</sup>

At the end of 1849, following a time of revival in his church, the Church Temperance Society asked Kirk to write an 'address to ministers' for distribution throughout the city. This he prepared and had signed by 'as many other ministers as could be got to do so' with thousands of the letters being sent to Edinburgh's churches.<sup>62</sup>

The teetotalism of an Irish cab driver challenged Guthrie to set an example to the poor with whom he came into contact. Guthrie stated

If I was to prevail on them to give up the whisky, I myself must first give up the wine.[---] I resolved to stand out before the public as a total abstainer, and to bring up my children in the habits of that brotherhood and sisterhood.<sup>63</sup>

The abstinence of Kirk and Guthrie contrasted with the attitude of most ministers, who saw nothing wrong with drinking wine in the privacy of their homes, while at the same time urging their poor parishioners to give up the public house.

In 1844 Guthrie had founded the Free Church Temperance Society. In May 1850, following a public meeting in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, the Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness was formed with Robert Candlish, minister of Free St. George's, 'moving the resolution embodying the constitution and objects of the

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<sup>61</sup> Kirk, *John Kirk*, p.293

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.* p.243

<sup>63</sup> Guthrie, *Thomas Guthrie*, p.574

Association.’<sup>64</sup> Pressure from such societies led to state intervention to control the sale of alcohol, culminating in the Public Houses (Scotland) Act of 1853 (the Forbes-Mackenzie Act) which restricted the opening hours of public houses. This peculiarly Scottish solution lasted until the 1960s when the licensing laws were liberalised.

As is evident from the above, the early years of the temperance movement were dominated by Free Church and other dissenting ministers. In 1853 there were 150 United Presbyterian ministers who were abstainers, over a hundred in the Free Church, but only about twenty in the Church of Scotland.<sup>65</sup> The Established Church ‘remained distant from the movement’, forming its Committee on Intemperance in 1867 and its Temperance Society in 1876.<sup>66</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century, however, concern grew over the consumption of alcohol among the working classes, despite the amount accruing to the Treasury through duties. The Church of Scotland’s Committee on temperance report in 1873 brought out the link between economic prosperity and increased alcohol consumption.

Where strikes have prevailed and the means of indulgence have thus been diminished, intemperance has decreased in a very marked degree. On the other hand, where high wages have been earned, intemperance has in many places kept pace with the increased prosperity, two facts sufficiently suggestive.<sup>67</sup>

Their concern, however, was very much class based. The ‘evil’ of drink affected only the working-classes, where the situation was more obvious. The wealthy consumed

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<sup>64</sup> William Wilson, *Candlish*, p.439

<sup>65</sup> Smout, *Scottish People*, p.141

<sup>66</sup> C. G. Brown, ‘Temperance Movement’ in *DSCHT*, pp.815-816 (p.815)

<sup>67</sup> ‘Report of the Committee on Temperance’ in *1873 Reports* pp. 485-495 (p.486)



their drinks in the privacy of their homes or clubs but could suffer just as much. For the Victorian middle-classes, however, it was the public perception which mattered. How the churches disciplined their members as they sought to control their behaviour is the subject of Chapter 6.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the social role of the churches during a period of transition as the population of Edinburgh grew. Churches sought to alleviate the plight of the poorest in their communities where the local welfare provision had failed. As exemplified by the work of Guthrie in education and Begg in housing, the Free Church was particularly active. The Church of Scotland retained control of educational provision for the children of their parishes until the various schisms within the Church led to fragmentation and duplication of resources. Accordingly education was the first service to pass from church to state control.

The following chapter examines the churches in relation to the social position of their members. After some general background, six churches are studied in detail and their memberships compared. Personal stories of some individuals are related to provide a balance to the chapter, which otherwise would be very statistical.

## CHAPTER 5: PASTORS AND PEOPLE

### Introduction

As was discovered in Chapter 1, the physical and social development of Edinburgh during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resulted in a city of contrasts. No longer did rich and poor live in close proximity, but they were increasingly separated, as those who could afford to do so moved to the elegant grandeur of the New Town or to the imposing villas of the Victorian suburbs. The poor were left behind in the crowded tenements of the Old Town, leading increasingly more wretched lives. This chapter examines selected churches from different denominations to determine the effect of this social separation on their membership.

### 5.1 Social Class and Census Returns

It has been suggested that between 1710 and 1840 the principal avenue of emerging class identity and class segregation was the church, as it was a major focus of social protest.<sup>1</sup> This period coincides with the growth in importance of class, as society became clearly stratified in the late-Victorian era. Within the cities, occupation and the location of one's residence became the measures of social position.

With the development of the decennial census from 1841, government, too, sought to classify the population by occupation. However, a strict comparison of one census with another is not possible, as the details were refined to take account of the

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<sup>1</sup> Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society*, p.179

increasing occupational diversity. In their Census Report to the Home Secretary in 1861, Scottish officials proposed changes in classifications. As these suggestions were not taken up throughout the four countries of the United Kingdom, from 1871 onwards the Scottish returns were unique. This new classification listed 700 specific occupations, with the population divided into six classes (professional, domestic, commercial, agricultural, industrial and indefinite). These were divided in turn into orders and suborders, but did not include ‘paupers and others receiving charitable aid’, who were listed separately according to their former occupation or status.<sup>2</sup> The result is a very detailed picture of occupational and social structure throughout Scotland.

## **5.2 Census of Religious Worship**

The population census of 1851 included a question on religious worship, namely church attendance on Sunday 30 March across the various denominations and for the three diets of worship (morning, afternoon and evening). The replies indicated the extent of religious provision throughout Scotland in relation to the population. A Report on the returns, compiled by the statistician Horace Mann, was presented in 1854 to the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, through George Graham, Registrar-General for England and Wales.<sup>3</sup> Although, for reasons indicated below, the results of the investigation can only be tentative, the Report is a unique inquiry and is a useful starting point for this study of individual congregations in Edinburgh.

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<sup>2</sup> Census of Scotland, 1871 Report (London: HMSO, 1871), Vol. 12 pp.xxxvi-xxxviii

<sup>3</sup>Horace Mann, ‘Census of Great Britain Religious Worship and Education (Scotland) Report and Tables 1854’ in *Parliamentary Papers Session 31 January-12 August 1854* Vol. LIX pp.301-346

The information collected from the census was incomplete since not all churches made returns. In his covering letter, Graham explains that, as was discovered later, the Census Act did not allow compulsion in providing such information, with the result that the inquiry was purely voluntary. This was particularly so in Scotland, where the enumerators were 'less careful' in delivering the forms and 'parties were less willing to supply the information'.<sup>4</sup> The reluctance of Scots to provide answers to the religious question could, in part, be attributed to the bitter divisions within Scottish Presbyterianism so soon after the Disruption, or to the unwillingness of the Established Church to reveal the extent of its losses. Almost a quarter of the Church of Scotland failed to provide returns. In this respect it was the 'chief delinquent'.<sup>5</sup>

An additional problem in collecting these statistics was that Scotland, unlike England and Wales, had no system of local registrars to do so. The situation was not rectified until the Registration of Births &c. Act (Scotland) which came into operation on 1 January 1855.<sup>6</sup> Under this Act a national system of vital registration was established with the appointment of a Registrar-General in Edinburgh, who was responsible for the collection and preservation of such records for the whole of Scotland. At the local level, responsibility lay with a registrar elected by the parochial board or, where there was no board, the heritors of the parish. An abstract

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<sup>4</sup> Mann, 'Report and Tables', p.309

<sup>5</sup> Donald Withrington, 'The 1851 Census of Religious Worship and Education: with a note on Church accommodation in mid-19<sup>th</sup>-Century Scotland' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* Vol. 18 (1974) 133-147 (p.134)

<sup>6</sup> An Act to provide for the better Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in Scotland (17 & 18 Victoria Cap. LXXX 7 August 1854)

of statistics was to be submitted annually to the Home Secretary, later the Secretary for Scotland when that office was established in 1885. A further complication with the 1851 census was that burgh boundaries, the basis of census districts in the more populous areas, were not coterminous with parishes so ‘no satisfactory tables could be constructed’.<sup>7</sup> It was not possible, therefore, to disaggregate the figures for Edinburgh and Leith.<sup>8</sup>

The most obvious fact presented by Mann’s statistics is the extent of Presbyterian dissent, which had in total 51 places of worship as compared with 26 for the Established Church. The two major divisions, United Presbyterian and Free Church, each had more ‘sittings’ than the Established Church and also claimed far higher attendance. However, the actual numbers who went to church were less than indicated in the table, since no account was taken of those who attended more than one service. Roman Catholic attendance, however, far exceeded the places available. This can be explained by the numbers of immigrants from Ireland around the time of the census. Provision had not yet met the increasing demand. In most congregations, free sittings were greatly outnumbered by “appropriated” or rented seats, which provided income for the upkeep of the churches. Because of the effect of seat rents on the poorer church members, this practice will be examined in Chapter 7.

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<sup>7</sup>Mann, ‘Report and Tables’, p.312 footnote

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* p.338 Table C (reproduced as Table 5:1)

Table 5:1 Edinburgh and Leith (*Parliamentary Burghs*)

Population Parishes 193,929 Burghs 191,221

Protestant	Places of Worship	Number of Free Sittings	Appropriated Sittings	Total	am	pm	evening
Established Church	26	2,237	14,220	19,994	8,674	6,887	1,573
Reformed Presbyterian	1	117	423	540	317	360	
Original Secession	1			900	250	350	
United Presbyterian	20	3,075	15,308	20,465	12,792	15,235	1,128
Free Church	29	1,625	14,994	20,830	15,315	15,922	4,547
Episcopal	10	480	2,496	3,796	3,052	1,630	334
Independent/ Congregational	6	1,380	3,630	5,610	2,376	2,799	412
Baptist	7	2,746	350	3,096	1,654	1,265	668
Society of Friends	1	430		430	47	58	
Unitarians	1	100	650	750	110	75	230
Wesleyan Methodists	4	570	1,095	1,865	682	179	829
Primitive Methodists	1	250		250		50	40
Glassites	1	260		260	150	180	100
New Church	1			150	50		31
Isolated	8	470		1,070	750	155	214
Other churches							
Roman Catholic	4	800	700	1,500	2,454	2,068	1,026
Catholic Apostolic	1	300		300	185	14	190
Jews	1	36	31	67	28		7

Mann compares the provision of places of worship with the population, as summarised in the following table for the county of Edinburgh (Midlothian, including the city).<sup>9</sup>

**Table 5:2**  
**Extract from Table B (summary) Edinburgh**  
**1851 Total population 259,435 total places of worship 205, total number of sittings 111,514**

**Total Attendance at 30 March 1851**

Service	Attendance	Places of Worship open	Sittings available
morning	65,084	178	111,164
afternoon	54,960	137	92,346
evening	13,890	66	24,404

**Note: No returns re sittings 26, attendance 10**

A direct comparison of population and the total number of sittings reveals that less than half the people had a guaranteed place in a church. Yet when attendance is compared with sittings, the churches as a whole were almost half empty, although there were exceptions where the minister was a popular preacher. This discrepancy between available sittings and actual attendance seems to refute the often repeated assertion that the institutional church had no room for the poor. Yet there were certainly considerable numbers who chose, for whatever reason, not to attend church. Part of the answer to the question why the poor did not attend church in large numbers lies in the missions among the poor, conducted by individual churches and by agencies such as the Edinburgh City Mission: the poor preferred to attend mission

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<sup>9</sup> Mann, 'Report and Tables', p.318

halls. These missions, including the social context in which they operated, will be discussed in Chapter 7. Particularly after the Disruption, as the Free Church duplicated the buildings of the national church, the over-supply of churches in the city increased. This surplus was later to become more pronounced following the various unions within Scottish Presbyterianism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

To show how church provision within the city developed, Mann's statistics from Table 5:1 above can be compared with the places of worship listed in Table 5:3 below compiled from the Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory for 1866-67.<sup>10</sup> The three main Presbyterian Churches have increased slightly, while the Methodists have formed a splinter group in the United Methodist Free Church. As was noted in Chapter 2, there were two strands of Episcopalianism in Scotland; the majority adhered to the Scottish rite, while a few followed the English liturgy. Baptists and Congregationalists show little change, apart from the addition of two Evangelical Union churches, formed, as we saw in Chapter 3, from a division among the Congregationalists regarding the doctrine of salvation. The origin of the German Church, which still meets in the city, is described below in connection with Augustine Congregational Church.

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<sup>10</sup> Figures compiled from Directory section on Churches, Chapels and Places of Worship pp. 437-441



Table 5:3 Places of Worship: Edinburgh and Leith

	Edinburgh	Leith	Total	1851 Census Totals
<b>Protestant</b>				
<b>Established Church</b>	26	4	30	26
<b>Free Church</b>	33	6	39	29
<b>United Presbyterian</b>	20	4	24	20
<b>Original Seceders (not in connection with Synod)</b>	2		2	1
<b>Reformed Presbyterian</b>	1		1	1
<b>Episcopal Church in Scotland</b>	10	2	12	10
<b>English Episcopalian Chapels</b>	2		2	
<b>Baptists</b>	7	1	8	7
<b>Congregationalist</b>	3	1	4	6 (including independent churches)
<b>Wesleyan Methodists</b>	1	1	2	4
<b>United Methodist Free</b>	1		1	0
<b>Primitive Methodist</b>	1		1	1
<b>Evangelical Union</b>	1	1	2	0
<b>Glassite</b>	1		1	1
<b>New Church (Swedenborgians)</b>	0		1	
<b>Christian Church</b>	1		1	0
<b>Unitarian</b>	1		1	1
<b>German Church</b>	1		1	0
<b>Others</b>				
<b>Roman Catholic</b>	3	1	4	4
<b>Catholic Apostolic</b>	0			1
<b>Jewish Synagogue</b>	1	1	1	1

The question of religious observance was raised again after the census of 1871. In his letter of 20 June 1872 to the Home Secretary, covering the report on that census, W. Pitt Dundas, Registrar-General for Scotland, comments:

It would have rendered the above series of Tables complete had that been done for Scotland which was done for Ireland, and is done in other countries of Europe, viz. required every Householder to make a correct return of the Religious Denomination, if any, to which he and every member of his household professed to belong. A return so procured would have been as trustworthy as that of the sexes, ages, and occupations, and would have been much more correct than if taken up by Churches, or the Clergy, as was done in 1851. If a return of the Religious Denominations in Ireland could be taken, what was there to prevent a like return being taken in Scotland? <sup>11</sup>

He considered that such a return would have been helpful where legislation impacted on questions of religious belief, especially with regard to education. This must be seen in the context of the debate regarding a national system, which, as we saw in Chapter 4, came into operation with the 1872 Education Act. There was also a link with religious affiliation and literacy, as the Irish census also had a question on this. Consequently in Scotland

deductions or inferences only must take the place of facts on that most important social question of the day – the education of the people so as to make them good members of the civil community. <sup>12</sup>

### **5.3 Problems with Sources**

To trace the occupations, and therefore social position, of the membership in the selected churches, the decennial census returns between 1871 and 1901 were first

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<sup>11</sup> Letter W. Pitt-Dundas to H. Austin Bruce 20 June 1872 in 1871 Census Report Vol. 1 pp. ix-xlv (pp. xvi-xvii)

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.* p.vii

examined. This proved problematic in covering a wide area over an extended period of time, given the numbers involved. A major difficulty was the extent to which families changed house, particularly in the poorer areas of Edinburgh, where the pattern was to move at the quarterly or half-yearly term dates, or more frequently if they had difficulty in paying their rent. A further problem was the practice of not numbering the separate flats in tenement buildings, which formed the majority of homes in Edinburgh.

A supplementary source, therefore, was the Edinburgh Post Office Directories, published annually from the early nineteenth century onwards. As the title suggests, these were used to assist postmen (letter carriers) to deliver the mail on their 'walk'. Each volume is divided into sections. First is an alphabetical list of names of the heads of households with their occupations, the order of which reflects Victorian social conventions (males, widows, and spinsters.) The street index (covering Edinburgh, Leith and their hinterlands) again names each householder and, finally, there is a directory of the various professions and businesses.

These directories, however, did not solve all the problems. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, more people stayed in apartments or lodging houses. If the man lived with a tradesman, it was assumed that he shared the same trade, probably as an apprentice. Some single ladies let rooms to provide an income but no occupation for them was listed in the post office directories. Where the church had noted that the member lived in a hospital and no other evidence was available, it was assumed that she was a nurse. With the growth of department stores, the shop assistants lived on the premises, especially in Jenners, the largest store in Princes

Street, where separate dormitories were provided at the top of the building for their male and female assistants.

## **5.4 Occupational Analysis**

As indicated above, occupational classification varied widely as census taking developed over the nineteenth century. It was necessary, therefore, to standardise this to present my analysis of social composition within the sample congregations. In his study of the Barony of Glasgow, Peter Hillis uses an occupational classification code for urban areas (reproduced as Table 5:4). This is an expanded version of that in his earlier article on the membership of Hillhead Baptist Church Glasgow, in which he divides the groups into High Status A, B, C and D; Low Status E, F and G; and Working Class H and I.<sup>13</sup> The additional occupations in the later table take account of the increasing diversity of employment, particularly for females, during the nineteenth century. However, these opportunities tended to be concentrated among the unskilled, such as seamstresses or book-folders.

Hillis's broad classification, adapted to take account of the actual occupations traced, forms the basis of my analysis. Where an individual occupation was unknown, or where sons were employed in their fathers' businesses, their social status was based on that of the household head. Women whose surnames differed from those of the household heads were assumed to have been servants, where it was not possible to trace them from census returns or other sources. In a few cases, where Christian names are not stated, these ladies were regarded as dependent relatives, especially in high status households.

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<sup>13</sup> Hillis, 'Hillhead Membership Roll', pp. 187-8

**Table 5:4 Classification Code Urban Areas<sup>14</sup>****A Professional group (generally university graduates)**

- 1 Advocates, partners in legal firms
- 2 Professors, lecturers, physicians, surgeons, doctors
- 3 Principals, rectors, headmasters of important educational establishments

**B Commercial group**

- 1 Bankers, bank managers and agents
- 2 Cashiers, principal /commercial clerks, accountants, insurance company managers, brokers and agents, company treasurers

**C Large merchant- manufacturing-retail group**

- 1 Suppliers of capital goods, timber etc., construction companies, ironfounders, textile manufacturers, wholesalers and importers, distillers, company managers
- 2 Suppliers of consumer goods and services catering for the middle class, silversmiths, silk mercers
- 3 Suppliers of food and wines, grocers, vintners, etc
- 4 Commission merchants, ship agents, brokers auctioneers
- 5 Warehousemen

**D Retired-Rentier Group**

- 1 Shipowners
- 2 Landlords, those retired and living on income from rented property, shares or capital, annuitants
- 3 Farmers

**E Public Servants (I)**

- 1 Druggists
- 2 Local government officials, building inspectors, architects, surveyors, house factors
- 3 Shipmasters, marine and civil engineers, custom officers

**F Public Servants (II)**

- 1 Teachers, divinity students who were also often city missionaries
- 2 Clerks, students, book-keepers

**G Small manufacturing merchant-tradesmen group**

- 1 Manufacturers employing small numbers of people, shop-keepers
- 2 Self-employed tradesmen, agents living in premises, commercial travellers
- 3 Foremen, overseers
- 4 Retired tradesmen and shop-keepers
- 5 Salesmen/women
- 6 Lodging house-keepers/ house-keepers
- 7 Governesses
- 8 Dressmakers with their own business premises

**H Skilled and semi-skilled**

- 1 Engineers, boiler-makers, joiners, smiths etc
- 2 Nurses, cooks, confectioners
- 3 Weavers, winders, dyers, potters, bootmakers

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<sup>14</sup> Hillis, *Barony of Glasgow*, p.12

4 Dressmakers, milliners, upholsterers, fancy-box makers, shop assistants

5 House painters, photographers, book-binders

6 Saddlers, tailors, french polishers, bakers

7 Contractors, printers, brakemen, ploughmen

#### **I Unskilled**

1 Labourers, carters, chimney sweeps, janitors, packers, sawyers, warehousemen.

2 Housemaids, table-maids, kitchen-maids, laundresses

3 Sewers, seamstresses, book-folders, cutters, mantle-makers

With that background, we now consider the individual churches, first a New Town Church of Scotland parish, then a Free Church congregation, followed by two Congregational and Baptist churches. In examining the social composition of these churches, we will consider whether one or other denomination appealed more to a particular social class.

### **5.5 St. Stephen's Church of Scotland**

As outlined in the previous chapter, St. Stephen's, the first parish in the northern New Town, was created to serve the needs of an expanding population. Its situation would suggest that the church catered for Edinburgh's elite. However, close scrutiny of its membership reveals that this was not entirely the case. The first record examined was the communion roll for the years 1866 to 1873, from which was taken a sample of every tenth member, plus any from the same family.<sup>15</sup> This gave a total of 175 male and 370 female members (Appendix 1 pp.1-27). The social analysis of members (Table 5:5) reveals a clear distinction between male and female members.

The importance of the professional classes is evident in almost half the sample, reflecting the situation of St. Stephen's as a New Town parish. Among them the law

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<sup>15</sup> CH2/607/25 St. Stephen's Communion Roll

dominated with nineteen males, including sons, who often followed their fathers into law, and twenty-six females (wives and daughters). The most prominent of the legal members at this period was Edward Strathearn Gordon, the Lord Advocate, whose son, John, was admitted as a young communicant in April 1873. Judges included Lords Kinloch, Mure and Ormidale. The sole manufacturer was William Blackwood, a silk mercer, with premises at 43 George Street. All his family became members. The civil engineer was Thomas Stevenson, father of Robert Louis, who transferred with his wife from Greenside when St. Stephen's opened. The new church was only a few yards from their home at 17 Heriot Row.

The retired/rentier group consists of those household heads shown in the directories as having no occupation. There is a large discrepancy in this class between men and women - 48 female to 9 male. Their 'no occupation' status conceals a great disparity in income, as their addresses indicate, from the elegance of Charlotte Square and its vicinity to the crowded lands (tenements) of Stockbridge. Twelve of the females of this group were widows and two men were widowers; there were four married couples. The remainder were unmarried, although a few were young communicants whose parents had no occupation.

**Table 5:5 St Stephen's Church of Scotland Communion Roll:  
Social Status of New Communicants 1866-1873**

Status Group	Male	Female
<b>A Professional</b> (legal/medical professions, ministers, university professors)	29	34 (wives and daughters )
<b>B Commercial</b> (accountancy, wool broker)	5	4 (wives and daughters)
<b>C Large Merchant-Manufacturing</b> (silk mercer, father and sons)	4	3 (wife and daughters)
<b>D Retired-Rentier</b> (income from property or investments, landlords)	9	48
<b>E Public Servants (I)</b> (civil engineer, clerk of works, HM Inspector of Schools, land surveyor architect)	3	7
<b>F Public Servants (II)</b> (teacher, medical student, divinity student, bank messenger, writing master)	5	4 (boarding school) 1 (student teacher) 3 ( wife and daughters)
<b>G Small Merchant-Tradesmen</b> (shopkeepers, wine merchant, cabinet maker)	6	3 (wives and sister)
<b>H Skilled/Semiskilled</b> (shop assistants, lithographer, french polisher, cork manufacturer, apprentices to a cabinet maker, plumber and mason, ladies' nurse, nurse, dressmaker, cook)	10	8 wives 14 (own occupation)
<b>I Unskilled Workers</b> (cabmen, employee in rubber works, servants)	4	60 (servants) 3 (wives)
<b>Total in sample</b>	175	370
<b>Occupations traced</b>	75 (43%)	192 (52%)
<b>High Status (A-D)* percentage of occupations traced</b>	47 (62%*)	89 (47%*)
<b>Low Status (E-G)</b>	14 (19%*)	18 (9%*)
<b>Working Class (H-I)</b>	14 (19%*)	85 (44%*)



Working-class men were unusual in a fashionable church like St. Stephen's. The three cabmen are particularly notable. As will be discussed in Chapter 7, the Edinburgh City Mission had a special interest in cabmen. It may be that these men had been converted through the Mission's work. The employed females were concentrated in Groups H and I, with the majority, sixty, being domestic servants. This high proportion was common to all the churches examined, reflecting the importance of such employment for women in Edinburgh, as already considered in Chapter 1. Nurses made another distinct group. Six were ladies' nurses who attended patients in their own homes, usually at childbirth. All these nurses were close neighbours in Jamaica Street, behind Heriot Row, but, in direct contrast, an area of humble tenement homes. One member stayed in the Royal Infirmary so she is assumed to have been a nurse.

A supplement to the Communion Roll was a list of signatories to a memorial submitted to the Kirk Session in January 1880 requesting that an organ be introduced into the church as 'a fitting and desirable accompaniment to our service of Praise'.<sup>16</sup> The list consisted of ninety-one names, members and adherents, all male. From the 1881 census returns I could trace only seventeen names, an illustration of the problems with this source. However, information on some others was obtained elsewhere, such as the Kirk Session minutes. The result is shown in Table 5:6; names are in the order in which the memorial was signed.

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<sup>16</sup> CH2/607/2 Kirk Session Minutes 1861-1880, p. 376

**Table 5:6: Memorial Signatories Traced St. Stephen's January 1880**

Name	Address	Occupation	Age next birthday	Other Information
Thomas Stevenson	17 Heriot Row	civil engineer	61	elder, married
George Henderson	13 George Street	insurance clerk	40	married
John Kennedy jr	71 Great King Street	Writer to the Signet	28	unmarried
D. Lister Shand	38 Northumberland Street	ditto	41	married, elder 22 October 1882 died 1895
William B Rhind	18 Pitt Street	sculptor	28	unmarried
William J Mure	39 Heriot Row	advocate (later judge)	35	married
Lewis Hoyes	26 Dundas Street (a boarding house)	Solicitor to the Supreme Court of Scotland	42	unmarried born Granada, West Indies
John Campbell	13 Royal Circus	engineer apprentice	19	unmarried mother widowed
Charles P Finlay	17 Northumberland Street	Writer to the Signet	44	widower
George Wight	26 Howe Street	draper employing 1 male and 16 females	49	married
Alexander Forman	8 Heriot Row	Writer to the Signet	25	unmarried
Claud Muirhead	7 Heriot Row	MD FRCP(E) physician	45	widower
Thomas Symington	13 Dundas Street	chemist and maker of coffee employing 2 men and 5 women	29	unmarried mother widowed
John T Bowie	18 Northumberland Street	chartered accountant	47	married
Robert Taylor Traquair	19 India Street	master baker employing 3 men, 1 boy, 1 woman	26	married
William Hugh Murray	78 Great King Street	Writer to the Signet	31	unmarried mother widowed
William J Henderson	16 Nelson Street	clerk in shipping office	30	ditto

The list shows that demand for innovation was not confined to the young but covered all ages. Perhaps Stevenson initiated the memorial; the minutes do not tell us.

Scottish lawyers have the qualifications of Writers to the Signet (WS) and Solicitors

to the Supreme Court (SSC). The numbers of lawyers involved confirms their importance in St. Stephen's. Of the others, William Birnie Rhind was the eldest son of John Rhind, a sculptor employing thirteen men, seven boys and one woman. A younger son, John, also followed the family profession. William was ordained an elder on 24 February 1895 but resigned in 1910.

Among the works of John Rhind, senior, is the 'great Runic cross of the Nasmyth family' erected in Edinburgh's Dean Cemetery.<sup>17</sup> He was also responsible for several carvings in the late-nineteenth-century restoration of St. Giles, the most impressive of which is the hexagonal pulpit which is still in use today.<sup>18</sup> Birnie Rhind, as William was known professionally, was famous for sculpting regimental war memorials, three of which are to be seen in Edinburgh.<sup>19</sup> The monument to the King's Own Scottish Borderers (The Edinburgh Regiment) is situated above the foundation stone of the reconstructed North Bridge. It commemorates the officers, non-commissioned officers and men who died in Afghanistan 1878-80, Egypt 1888-89, the North-West Frontier between 1889 and 1898 and South Africa 1900-02. The Black Watch memorial is on the Mound and lists those who fell in battle in the Boer War. It also has a separate plaque with the names of those who succumbed to disease, an unusual but significant addition, as the numbers appear almost equal. Finally, the Royal Scots Greys are remembered in Princes Street Gardens. Although

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<sup>17</sup> James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing 2000), p. 100

<sup>18</sup> Rosalind K. Marshall, *St. Giles' : The Dramatic Story of a Great Church and its People*, (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press 2009), pp.123-4 and Plate 3

<sup>19</sup> Edward M. Spiers, *The Scottish Soldier and Empire 1854-1902*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2006), p.205

erected to commemorate those who died in South Africa, on this monument plaques have been added in remembrance of the fallen in the 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 world wars.<sup>20</sup>

Among those whom I could not trace in the census returns was Christopher Johnston, an advocate who, on his elevation to the judicial bench, took the title Lord Sands. He was ordained an elder on 12 June 1892 and, as noted in Chapter 3, wrote the centenary history of St. Stephen's. His lasting contribution to the Church of Scotland lay in his role as legal adviser during the negotiations leading to its union with the United Free Church in 1929. Another signatory was an accountant, J. Campbell Penney, son of the judge, William Penney (Lord Kinloch). Penney followed his father into the eldership, being ordained on 12 June 1892. He died in 1920. The humbler members of St. Stephen's were not quite excluded, however. The penultimate name is George Matheson whose address is given as St. Stephen's Church. He was their principal beadle, or church officer.

## **5.6 Free St. George's**

This church was formed on 18 May 1843 when seven of the twenty-one elders and a significant portion of the congregation followed their minister, Dr. Robert Candlish, one of the Disruption leaders, out of St. George's Church of Scotland parish church in Charlotte Square.<sup>21</sup> These elders included the surgeon, Benjamin Bell, a member of one of Edinburgh's famous medical dynasties and father of Dr. Joseph Bell, who was also to follow him into the eldership. (Joseph Bell became a

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<sup>20</sup> Information taken from the inscriptions on the relevant monuments.

<sup>21</sup> St. George's Parish Church opened in 1814 to serve the western New Town. It is now West Register House, part of the National Archives of Scotland.

lecturer in surgery at Edinburgh University. Among his students was Arthur Conan Doyle, who acknowledged that he used Bell as the model for Sherlock Holmes.) Of the others whose professions were noted, two were advocates, one was a physician, and one a cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland. Free St. George's was therefore another wealthy congregation.

Anticipating the Disruption, non-intrusionist leaders had begun to collect throughout Scotland general funds for building their own churches and manses. One of the first of these new churches, situated in Castle Terrace, was known as "The Brick Church". On Sabbath 21 May 1843 those who had resolved to leave St. George's met there for worship. As the infant national Free Church collectively owned the Brick Church, the Free St. George's congregation became tenants, paying a rent to the Free Church headquarters until they were able to erect their own building.<sup>22</sup> This modest 'Brick Church' 'in every outward respect was a remarkable contrast to the goodly and spacious pile which they had left in Charlotte Square'.<sup>23</sup>

From the newly constituted Kirk Session of the seven seceding elders, Mr. John Cadell, advocate, was appointed interim Session Clerk and was directed to

procure a list of the congregation and also of the communicants and to insert in the Session Records the Minute of the Sabbath School Teachers adhering to the congregation.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> David MacLagan, *St. George's, Edinburgh: A History of St. George's Church 1814 to 1843 and of St. George's Free Church 1843 to 1873*, (London: T. Nelson and Sons 1876), p.87

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> CH3/965/1 Minutes of Free St. George's Kirk Session 1843-1865, pp. 27-28

Candlish had met with the teachers on 11 May to consult them regarding their course of action should the expected Disruption of the Church take place.

Unanimously, the teachers resolved to

place themselves under the authority and in communion with the Kirk Session & congregation adhering to Dr. Candlish.<sup>25</sup>

In December 1843 St. George's Free Church purchased a site for their own building in Lothian Road, which was opened for worship on 5 January 1845 when Dr. Candlish 'preached one of his great evangelical discourses' from Matthew 11.28: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."<sup>26</sup>

The growth of the congregation can be traced from the session minutes which contain the names and addresses of new communicants, as they were admitted to the sacrament and so became full members of Free St. George's. By March 1879 membership was over one thousand.<sup>27</sup> As was normal practice, admission to communion was by means of tokens issued only to members in good standing. Distribution by the elders took place on the Fast Day, a Thursday, preceding the Communion Sabbath. At this Session meeting, new members were welcomed into the fellowship and 'suitably addressed' by the minister who chaired, or moderated, the meetings. Despite the fact that communion was celebrated only once or twice a year, because these Thursday meetings were held in the mornings or afternoons, there was a built-in bias against ordinary working people formally joining the church.

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<sup>25</sup> *ibid.* pp. 29-30

<sup>26</sup> MacLagan, *St. George's*, p.92

<sup>27</sup> CH3/965/2 Minutes 1865-1888, p.662

Taking time off work to attend, even on such limited occasions, would mean loss of wages which they could ill afford.

While membership steadily increased, from the end of 1873 a greater number of young people joined the Church. This period coincided with the evangelical revival under the ministry of Moody and Sankey (discussed in Chapter 3). Although the revival is not mentioned in the minutes, there was most probably a connection. The minister at this time was Alexander Whyte. He had been appointed as Candlish's colleague in 1870 and then succeeded as sole pastor when Candlish died in October 1873. As a child in Kirriemuir, Whyte had been strongly influenced by a revival there in 1843 and by the greater one in 1859-60 while he was a student in Aberdeen.<sup>28</sup> These experiences had a powerful and lasting effect on his ministry, which was noted for his evangelical preaching. It was natural, therefore, that Whyte should give his active support to the two American evangelists, and also in the follow-up work to the revival which continued from February 1874 onwards. This 'did much to fan the flame of enthusiasm in Free St. George's', resulting in the 'unwontedly large' young communicants classes during that year.<sup>29</sup>

Between January 1874 and October 1905 there were 890 new members admitted, of whom 300 were men.<sup>30</sup> This proportion was common in congregations of the period. Appendix 2 (pp.28-76) lists these new members, with details of heads of households and occupations, where these could be traced from the Edinburgh Post Office Directories for the relevant years. Where no occupation was listed, it was

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<sup>28</sup> Barbour, *Alexander Whyte*, pp. 22 and 100-101

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.* p.164

<sup>30</sup> Figures collated from NAS CH3/965/1-3 Minutes of Free St. George's 1843-1907

assumed that the householder had private means or was retired. The result is shown Table 5:7.

**Table 5:7 Free St George's: Social Status of New Communicants 1874-1905**

Status Group	Male	Female
<b>A Professional</b> (legal/medical professions, ministers, university professors)	30	50 (wives and daughters )
<b>B Commercial</b> (banking, insurance, accountancy, stockbroker)	18	15 (wives and daughters)
<b>C Large Merchant-Manufacturing</b> (newspaper distributor, furniture manufacturer, merchants, large publisher)	4	12 (daughters)
<b>D Retired-Rentier</b> (income from property or investments, landlords)	35	71
<b>E Public Servants (I)</b> (mining /civil engineers, meteorologist, civil servants, journal sub-editor)	7	14
<b>F Public Servants (II)</b> (teachers, students, including boarding school, city missionary)	11 (including one divinity and one other student)	66 (boarding school) 14 (including 3 students, otherwise wives and daughters)
<b>G Small Merchant-Tradesmen</b> (shopkeepers, lodging-house/ apartment keeper, artist, small publisher, small manufacturer, contralto vocalist, governess)	17	24
<b>H Skilled/Semiskilled</b> (shop assistant, tailor, bookbinder, cork manufacturer, gardener, photographer, joiner, nurse, dressmaker)	7	13 ( wives and daughters but includes 5 nurses, a dressmaker and a shop assistant)
<b>I Unskilled Workers</b> (servants, cabmen, caretakers, janitors)	7	140 (servants) 4 (wives)
<b>Total in sample</b>	300	590
<b>Occupations traced</b>	136 (45%)	423 (72%)
<b>High status (A-D) * percentage of occupations traced</b>	87 (64%) *	148 (35%) *
<b>Low status (E-G)</b>	35 (26%) *	118 (28%) *
<b>Working class (H-I)</b>	14 (10%) *	157 (37%) *

Befitting the church's situation in the west end of the city, this analysis confirms the high economic status of its congregation. The legal and medical professions



dominate, as might be expected. Among the advocates was Robert Candlish Henderson, grandson of the church's first minister. His son, A. Russell Henderson, became a member as a young man. As well as the Bell family already mentioned, the medical men included Alexander Simpson, nephew of and successor to James Young Simpson as professor of midwifery. Another was Sir Thomas Grainger Stewart, Professor of the Practice of Medicine and physician-in-ordinary to the Queen. Links with the founders of the Free Church are also evident. Among the accountants, named after his grandfather, was Thomas Chalmers Hanna, whose three daughters and son, William, were also members.

Several men had served in India with the Honourable East India Company. The Company, formed in 1600 initially to conduct trade with the Indian sub-continent, by the later eighteenth century had come to rule large swathes of India, both militarily and administratively, in districts known as Presidencies. This lasted until 1858 when, following the 'Mutiny' in the previous year, Britain assumed direct rule over India.<sup>31</sup>

One of these members was James Dalmahoy, born in 1800, who joined the Indian Medical Service in 1820 on qualifying as a doctor. He practised in the Madras Presidency for ten years, until he was appointed Assay Master of the Mint of Madras. He returned to Edinburgh in 1840, having been ordained as an elder in 1831. For thirty years Dr. Dalmahoy was a director of Edinburgh City Mission. At his death in June 1889, he was by far the oldest elder.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> The 'Mutiny' of 1857 is known in India as the First National War of Independence.

<sup>32</sup> CH3/ 965/3 Minutes 1888- 1907, Obituary Minute 10 June 1889, pp.899-900

A second doctor who served in the Madras Presidency was James Boyd Fleming. Born in 1822, he went to India in 1846 and ‘after a long and distinguished career’ retiring in 1869, returned to Edinburgh. Three years later he was appointed Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals. Dr. Fleming was ‘an active and prominent’ Director of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society for twenty-eight years and served on the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church. He died on 7 May 1900.<sup>33</sup>

Two brothers, Robert and James Simson, were administrators in the Bengal Civil Service, where both had distinguished careers. Robert went to Calcutta in 1847 but, soon after passing his examinations in languages and laws, was selected for special service in the Punjab. He made rapid progress, becoming Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow in 1856. During the 1857 to 1858 ‘Mutiny’ he was appointed under-secretary to Charles John, Earl Canning, the first viceroy of India. In effect Robert Simson acted as foreign secretary ‘surrendering both furlough and pay that he might continue to help the government’.<sup>34</sup> He reached the highest administrative positions possible during his thirty-year career. While in India he identified with the Free Church in Calcutta and was ordained an elder of St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Allahabad in 1875. On returning to Edinburgh he joined Free St. George’s becoming a member of Session in 1879 and later Session Clerk. He was particularly interested in foreign missions and two of his daughters became missionaries. Robert Simson died on 3 July 1905.

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<sup>33</sup> *ibid.* Obituary Minute 18 June 1900, p. 1104

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.* Obituary Minute 9 July 1905, pp.1231-1232 (p.1232)

James Simson went to Bengal in 1854 and for several years was Registrar of the High Court of Agra. He became commissioner of the Allahabad Division in the North West Provinces, retiring in 1882. Like his brother, James had been ordained an elder in India and on his return to Edinburgh joined Free St. George's where he was elected to the eldership in 1884. He, too, served as Session Clerk. James' special interests were the Fountainbridge Mission (to be discussed in Chapter 7) and the Welfare of Youth Scheme in the church. He was also a member of several committees of the Free Church General Assembly. He died on 3 April 1906.<sup>35</sup>

Six more men were in the service of the Honourable East India Company, either as physicians or in the army. All became elders of Free St. George's.<sup>36</sup> This concentration of members who had served abroad could be explained by the fact that at the Disruption all the Church of Scotland overseas missionaries decided to join the Free Church. It would have been appropriate, therefore, for the more evangelical men in secular occupations to follow their lead.

One further member with overseas service, perhaps the most distinguished, was George Smith, a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, and author of the biography of Alexander Duff, who had gone to India in 1829 as the first Church of Scotland missionary.<sup>37</sup> On completion of his arts course at Edinburgh University, Smith left for India in 1853 to teach. At the early age of twenty, he was appointed principal of Doveton College for Eurasian Boys in Calcutta. Although himself a layman, this position brought him into regular contact with missionaries, especially

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<sup>35</sup> *ibid.* Obituary Minute 18 April 1906, pp. 1251-1253

<sup>36</sup> MacLagan, *St. George's*, pp. 207-212

<sup>37</sup> George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton 1881)

those working under the auspices of the Free Church.<sup>38</sup> He resigned from Doveton in 1858 to take up journalism, becoming co- proprietor and co-editor of the weekly *Friend of India* newspaper and India correspondent of *The Times*.<sup>39</sup> When he returned to Edinburgh in 1870, Smith named his home Serampore House, as a reminder of his service in India. (His house in India had formerly belonged to William Carey, founder of the modern missionary movement.)<sup>40</sup> In 1875 Smith was appointed foreign secretary to the Free Church of Scotland. He died on Christmas Eve 1919, aged eighty-six, after a lifetime of ‘earnest Christian service’.<sup>41</sup>

Of Smith’s ten children, several of whom were admitted as members of Free St. George’s, the eldest, George Adam Smith, was the most famous. He was born in Calcutta on 9 October 1856 and at the age of two was brought home to Leith, with his younger brother, to be cared for by their aunts. This was to be the pattern for the subsequent Smith children until their parents returned home permanently in 1870. Influenced by the 1873-74 evangelistic campaign of Moody and Sankey, as we noted in Chapter 3, young George Adam decided to train for the ministry of the Free Church and, following the completion of an arts degree, he entered New College in 1875, also studying theology in Germany in the vacations. In 1880 he was appointed tutor in Hebrew and Old Testament at the Free Church College, Aberdeen, and two years later was ordained as the first minister of that city’s Queen’s Cross Church.

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<sup>38</sup> Iain D. Campbell, *Fixing the Indemnity: The Life and Work of Sir George Adam Smith (1856-1942)*, (Carlisle: Paternoster 2004), p.11

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.* p.18

<sup>40</sup> Lilian Adam Smith, *George Adam Smith: A Personal Memoir and Family Chronicle*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd. 1943), p.10

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.* p.183

His connection with Free St. George's, however, had not quite ended. In June 1889, having received permission from the General Assembly, the church appointed a committee to select a colleague and successor to Dr. Whyte, who had just completed his year as Moderator of the General Assembly and who was getting on in years. After several months deliberation, although with a minority of the congregation dissenting, the sole nominee was George Adam Smith. Despite the dissents, the Kirk Session proceeded with the call.<sup>42</sup> The reasons for this dissent are not recorded in the minutes but Smith's biographer (his wife) states that some in the congregation thought his views on Scripture and theology were too 'advanced' or 'heretical'.<sup>43</sup> Not until early in 1891 was the matter of George Adam Smith's call decided. On 27 January a deputation went before a special meeting of the Presbytery of Aberdeen to 'prosecute the call'. Five members of Free St. George's represented the congregation, with Principal Rainy of New College from the Presbytery of Edinburgh also part of the deputation.<sup>44</sup> After hearing a deputation from Smith's Queen's Cross congregation, the Aberdeen Presbytery called Smith in to the meeting and asked for his views. He 'intimated that after much consideration the balance of his judgement led him to decline the call'.<sup>45</sup> The Aberdeen Presbytery therefore turned down the Edinburgh call. The Edinburgh delegation said it would appeal. However, the Free St. George's Kirk Session, following a discussion, agreed to 'recommend to the congregation that the protest and appeal be fallen from'.<sup>46</sup> Behind

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<sup>42</sup> CH3/ 965/3 Minutes 1888-1907 Minute 1 April 1890, p. 918

<sup>43</sup> Smith, *George Adam Smith*, p.46

<sup>44</sup> CH3/965/3 Minute 30 January 1891, pp. 933-934

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.* p.934

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*

Smith's refusal of the call was his interest in the vacant chair of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at the Free Church College, Glasgow to which he was appointed in 1892.<sup>47</sup> In 1901 Smith published *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, which set out his views on the relationship between criticism and preaching.<sup>48</sup> In this work, he accepted many of the positions of the advanced 'higher critics'. As a result there was 'much agitation' in the recently formed United Free Church, leading to a summons to Smith to appear before its 1902 General Assembly.<sup>49</sup> In short, the disquiet voiced by some Free St. George's members a few years earlier was felt by many in the Free Church as a whole. Following Smith's speech to the Assembly, and with the support of Principal Rainy,

the motion for a conference to interrogate him further was dropped, and the Assembly refused to institute any proceedings against him at all, or to commit the Church as such to any motion forbidding him freedom of criticism.<sup>50</sup>

Smith had a distinguished academic career and on 9 November 1909 he was inaugurated as Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Aberdeen University, the last ordained minister to hold such a post in a Scottish university.<sup>51</sup> He retired in 1935, aged almost eighty, and died on 3 March 1942.

Finding a colleague/successor to Alexander Whyte, however, still caused problems. In March 1892 the congregation decided to call the Rev. Hugh Black of Sherwood Free Church, Paisley. Following the normal procedure, on 12 May

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<sup>47</sup> Campbell, *Fixing the Indemnity*, p.76

<sup>48</sup> R. A. Riesen, 'George Adam Smith' in *DSCHT*, pp. 780-781 (p.780)

<sup>49</sup> Smith, *George Adam Smith*, p.83

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Campbell, *Fixing the Indemnity*, pp. 144-145

commissioners from Free St. George's and the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh visited their counterparts in Paisley to 'prosecute the call' which was declined, despite the fact that over one thousand from Free St. George's had signed the call.<sup>52</sup> Their appeal to the General Assembly was dismissed.<sup>53</sup> The reasons for these decisions are not recorded. However, in January 1896 the congregation again resolved to call Black and this time Paisley Presbytery

unanimously agreed to sustain the call & thereafter adopted a Resolution loosing Mr. Black from his present charge and translating him to the Pastorate of St. Georges (*sic*) Free Edinburgh.<sup>54</sup>

Black was to remain at Free St. George's until June 1906, when he was invited to 'accept the new Chair of Practical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary at New York'.<sup>55</sup> His successor, inducted on 8 April 1907, was the celebrated preacher, the Rev. John Kelman, whose father, as we saw in Chapter 3, had been instrumental in inviting Moody and Sankey to Edinburgh. This appointment was opportune, as Whyte became principal of New College in 1909, thus serving in the same dual capacity as Candlish had done.<sup>56</sup> As a result most of the church work fell to Kelman. Whyte finally retired from the church in 1916 and from New College in 1918, having moved to England the year before. He died on 6 January 1921, one week before his eighty-fifth birthday.

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<sup>52</sup> CH3/965/3 Minute 13 May 1892, pp. 970-71

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.* Minute 20 June 1892, p. 973

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.* Minute 20 January 1896, p.1029

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.* Minute 13 May 1906, p.1255

<sup>56</sup> Barbour, *Alexander Whyte*, p. 491

With that digression we now return to the members of Free St. George's.

The lists of elders and deacons reveal the dominance of professional men among the office bearers, particularly law, medicine and the church, with several advocates, physicians, and professors, mainly, as one would expect, in New College. The sole landowner was Sir James Forrest of Comiston, who was Adam Black's predecessor as Lord Provost. He had been knighted by Queen Victoria in 1838 on her first visit to Scotland.<sup>57</sup> Many of the deacons later were elected elders. This suggests that the diaconate was an opportunity of service for the young men of the congregation. Four were divinity students, among them James Candlish, son of Robert. He also followed his father into academia, becoming Professor of Theology in the Free Church College, Glasgow.

Of the female members of Free St. George's, the greatest number (140) were servants, including those assumed to be so where the surname differed from that of the householder. Among the working-class females was Christina Douglas, whose address is given as the Magdalen Asylum, a hospice for the rehabilitation of prostitutes. She would have been an employee, either a servant or a nurse. Another was Alexandrina Manson, a straw hat cleaner and dyer. The remaining working-class females were nurses, dressmakers or shop assistants. The four wives had husbands with similar occupations, a school janitor, and church or office caretakers. They would share their husbands' duties.

The second large group of females consisted of the sixty-six living at boarding and day schools for young ladies. As no further information was available, I have

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<sup>57</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, II, p.284



assumed that the girls were all boarders, although a few may have been teachers.

The largest school belonged to the Misses Gossip and had various locations throughout the city during the period of review. These three sisters, and their brother, were all members of Free St. George's, as were forty-four of the pupils. The next school in size was situated at 20 Grosvenor Crescent and was operated by Miss Brown, also a member. Seventeen of her pupils joined the church. The remainder came from two schools, Miss Simson's and Miss Lister's. Several Simsons were church members but there was no record of Miss Lister's membership.

Most female household heads had no occupation, so were regarded as of independent means. Not all these traced were members but employed servants who were. Others rented apartments to members or had another connection. Of the female householders traced, one hundred were widows, eighty-eight of whom had no occupation; sixty-four were single of whom just over half were employed. As discussed in Chapter 1, this illustrates the problem of single women in a society where opportunities for meaningful employment were still limited.

## **5.7 Argyle Square Chapel / Augustine Congregational Church**

This church had its origins in the Tabernacle Church at the top of Leith Walk which, as noted in Chapter 2, had been founded under the leadership of James Haldane, an independent, itinerant evangelist, who had been ordained as its pastor on 3 February 1799. In May 1801 John Aikman, a fellow lay evangelist, became co-pastor and the two men worked in harmony for a year. However, the Tabernacle congregation grew rapidly and it was resolved, 'to enlarge the sphere of their usefulness', that some members should form a new church on the opposite side of the

city with Aikman as its pastor. There was some reluctance to take this step, however, as ‘Mr. Haldane and others had to exhort them as a duty to leave their society and support the new church’.<sup>58</sup>

This church, paid for by ‘the liberality and christian (*sic*) devotedness of Mr. Aikman alone’, opened in North College Street (renamed Argyle Square in 1840) on 30 May 1802. Among the six deacons who transferred to that fellowship was Charles Black, a master-builder, who had originally been a member of the Church of Scotland. He had been influenced by the ministry of James Haldane and joined the Tabernacle congregation when it was founded. As the Black family lived in Charles Street, near George Square, it was more practical for Mr. and Mrs. Black to become members of the new congregation, which was much closer to their home. Their eldest son, Adam, also transferred to the new church, which he was to serve faithfully for the rest of his life. (As noted in Chapter 1, Adam Black was the first non-Established Church member to become Lord Provost of Edinburgh.)

In his statement giving the history of Argyle Square at the congregation’s last meeting there, Adam Black comments:-

Many remarks have been made upon the coarse and homely appearance of the building, but so earnest were Mr. Aikman and his advisers, the Messrs. Haldanes, (*sic*) at that time for bringing under the sound of the gospel as great multitudes as possible, that no money was spent on what might have been superfluities. I have heard my father, who was the builder of the chapel, say that he pled for something more ornamental, but in vain.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> CH14/4/1 Argyle Square Minutes, ‘Statement read on the evening of Sabbath the 28<sup>th</sup> October 1855 at the last meeting of the church in Argyle Square Chapel by Mr. Adam Black’, pp.42-45 (p.43)

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*

For these early dissenters, people were always more important than buildings and evangelism was given a higher priority than large, ornate structures, an emphasis which was sometimes forgotten in the denominational competition of the following generation.

As well as in his own church, business and political career, Adam Black also played his part in the wider Christian community. In the 1780s a Sabbath School Association had been formed for teaching poor children who had no regular schooling. As these Sabbath Schools were mainly run by dissenters, indeed were forbidden by the Moderates of the Established Church, Black joined this Association, seeing its work as an appropriate means of Christian service for a young man. In 1809, he was in charge of a Sunday School in Fountainbridge but gave it up, 'the attendance being poor, and some of the boys extremely rude and unmanageable'.<sup>60</sup> A similar School in Portobello, then a small village outside Edinburgh, was more successful. He recruited about a hundred children and worked with them each Sunday evening for several years. He commented later,

This is the part of my life that I look back upon with the greatest satisfaction. If I have been of any use to my fellow-creature, it was here.<sup>61</sup>

In accordance with his religious principles, Black was also a member of the Voluntary Church Association, established in Edinburgh in 1832 to promote the separation of church and state, whereby churches would be supported solely by their members and not be reliant on government endowments.

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<sup>60</sup> Nicolson, *Adam Black*, p.47

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.* p.48

Aikman continued his ministry in North College Street until his death on 6 February 1834, aged sixty-three. However, he had already taken steps to find a successor. This was William Lindsay Alexander, who had been born in Leith on 24 August 1808, the son of William Alexander and his wife, Elizabeth Lindsay. Alexander, senior, was a wine merchant with Messrs.Cockburn and Company, eventually rising to be head of the firm. More importantly, he was a member of the Tabernacle, but in 1813 he adopted Baptist views and joined the Elder Street Chapel where Dr. William Innes, a former colleague of James Haldane, was pastor.

Alexander was well known as a lay preacher in the towns and villages around Edinburgh. In that respect young William followed his father, beginning to preach in the villages near St. Andrews, where he was a student of mathematics under Thomas Chalmers. As there was then no Baptist church in St. Andrews, the young Alexander worshipped in the Independent church, where the pastor encouraged the young men of his congregation to preach and thus assist him in the ministry.<sup>62</sup> These influences probably played a part in his decision, on 29 October 1826, to become a member of the Congregational church in Leith as he ‘could not adopt the views on baptism held by the church with which his parents were connected’.<sup>63</sup>

In October 1833 Aikman had written to William Lindsay Alexander, then working with an independent congregation in Newington, Liverpool, inviting him to visit Edinburgh and preach in his church for a few weeks with a view to his settlement as colleague. Alexander declined the invitation then but indicated his willingness to come in the following January. In the meantime, the Newington

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<sup>62</sup> Ross, *Lindsay Alexander*, pp.10 and 23

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.* p.19

congregation had asked Alexander to become their pastor. Although he accepted this call, he never assumed the pastorate due to the unsettled nature of the church with many people leaving the district.<sup>64</sup>

However, Alexander's experience in Liverpool had convinced him that the Christian ministry was to be his life's work and from May to July 1834 he studied theology in Germany 'to supply the chief lack in his qualifications for that work'.<sup>65</sup> He had spent only a few months from 1827 to 1828 at the Glasgow Theological Academy, which had been founded in 1811 by Ralph Wardlaw and Greville Ewing, pioneers of congregationalism in Scotland, to train their ministers. After Wardlaw's death, Alexander was to succeed him as professor of theology in 1854.

Following his studies in Germany, Alexander came to Edinburgh for a few weeks, during which he preached in North College Street. Adam Black, as senior deacon, invited him to supply the pulpit for six months in the hope that 'he would not be disposed to leave the church, or the church to part with him.'<sup>66</sup> Alexander again declined on learning that the church was divided over his call. In the meantime he had gone to London where in November 1834 he received 'a very cordial invitation' to become pastor of the North College Street congregation.<sup>67</sup> After three weeks consideration, this time he accepted the call, which for him was a homecoming.

The Argyle Square congregation did not begin keeping records of their meetings until 9 June 1853 when

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<sup>64</sup> Ross, *Lindsay Alexander*, pp.62-63

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.* p.64

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.* p.65

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.* p.66

Mr Thomas Davies [was] appointed clerk to the church in pursuance of a resolution come to that henceforward a record of the church business be kept in the form of a minute of each meeting.<sup>68</sup>

As a result, there is no direct church record of Alexander's induction which took place on 5 February 1835. However, details are given in his biography. There was quite a gathering of ministers. His childhood pastor, Dr. William Innes of Elder Street Baptist Church, opened in prayer; Henry Wilkes of Albany Street Congregational Church 'delivered a discourse'; G. D. Cullen, who, as minister of Leith Congregational Church had nurtured Alexander as a young Christian, questioned him about his beliefs and 'purposes with regard to the ministry'; Mr. Cleghorn, who since 1812 had been an associate pastor of the Argyle Square church, offered the ordination prayer and Dr. Wardlaw, his former tutor at the Theological Academy, 'addressed the young pastor'. Also in attendance were John Brown of the Secession Church and Christopher Anderson of Charlotte Baptist Chapel.<sup>69</sup> The Established Church, however, was not represented. Lindsay Alexander, as he became known, was to remain as minister of Argyle Square/Augustine Church until 1877. He was to be recognised as one of Scotland's leading preachers, even early in his ministry, as Henry Cockburn noted in his Journal on 21 December 1845.

I heard [---] That a congregation, neither Catholic nor Episcopalian, but worshipping according to the forms of the Church of Scotland, had given £200 for an organ, to be set up and used in an Edinburgh meeting-house. The people who have sense and spirit to do this are a

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<sup>68</sup>CH 14/14/1 Minute 9 June 1853, p.1

<sup>69</sup> Ross, *Lindsay Alexander*, pp.70-71

congregation of Independents who assemble near the College, and are presided over by Mr. Alexander, an able, excellent, and eloquent man – no inconsiderable fact in the progress of Scotland.<sup>70</sup>

This also tells us something of the innovative nature of Alexander's ministry at a time when the use of an organ to aid worship was severely frowned upon.

Although the church had been extensively repaired in 1840, the congregation had considered the possibility of a new building. Matters came to a head in 1855 when Argyle Square was required by the government to accommodate the Industrial Museum, the forerunner of the present Royal Museum of Scotland in Chambers Street. In February 1855, the church members appointed a committee to act along with the trustees in

taking any steps that may be considered requisite towards forwarding the erection of a New Chapel, especially in reference to the procuring of a suitable site.<sup>71</sup>

The committee, chaired by Adam Black, were given powers to act without further reference to the members, 'provided [the site] be at no great distance from the present church'.<sup>72</sup> Because they had to vacate Argyle Square within a few months, until their new building was ready the congregation rented Queen Street Hall, the meeting place of the United Presbyterian Synod. As noted above, the last service at Argyle Square took place on Sunday evening 28 October 1855. It was not until July 1856 that the congregation secured a site on the east side of George IV Bridge for the new church, which did not open for worship until 1861. The period of six years in

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<sup>70</sup> Cockburn, *Journal*, p.138

<sup>71</sup> CH14/14/1 Minute 13 February 1855, p.26

<sup>72</sup> *ibid.*

Queen Street led to some members leaving the former Argyle Square congregation because of the distance from their homes.

A contemporary describes the new building as

rising from a deep and massive basement in the old sunk transverse thoroughfare of Merchant Street. The main building is after the Byzantine style, with a handsome tower and steeple above a hundred feet in height; and is something of an innovation even on the new architecture of the city.<sup>73</sup>

This site caused difficulties in construction and work stopped completely in 1859 until more money was raised, enabling the work to continue.

The meeting places of dissenting congregations were generally known simply by the street in which they were situated. With the move to George IV Bridge, however, the members decided to name their new building. As the minutes reveal, this decision, although reached unanimously after being formally proposed and seconded, was very much at the instigation of Dr. Alexander. His reasons for the proposal that it be named after Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, are noted as follows:-

1<sup>st</sup> Augustine's singular eminence as a theologian;

2<sup>nd</sup> His important services to the cause of God, not only in his own day but in subsequent times, as it was to his writings chiefly that the theologians of the middle ages were indebted for their views of divine truth and the Church for what life was sustained in it; nor is it to be doubted that to him instrumentally we are indebted for the theology of the Reformation, and to a great extent for the Reformation itself;

3<sup>rd</sup> The fact that on several points of theology in which we differ from other Calvinists, we differ by agreeing with Augustine rather than Calvin;

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<sup>73</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, II, p.294



4<sup>th</sup> The pastor's personal obligation to Augustine's writing, by which his own religious thinking was much influenced, and from which his public teaching derived much of its character & substance.<sup>74</sup>

'Church' as a name for the new place of worship was considered

the most appropriate word for designating it, according to the principle by which a building received the same name or designation as its occupants.<sup>75</sup>

Members objected to 'Chapel' because it was

identified with certain peculiarities of Romanism, it being used to designate the places in which worship was offered to the saints & the virgin Mary.<sup>76</sup>

The formal opening, on the afternoon of Friday 8 November 1861, was reported in the *Daily Review* the following day. Admission was by ticket and the building well filled. Dr. Alexander gave the prayer of dedication and Thomas Guthrie of Free St. John's 'preached in his usual impressive style'. The normal three services, morning afternoon and evening, were held on the Sunday, with Alexander preaching in the afternoon.<sup>77</sup> So began a new era in the life of this congregation, resulting in considerable growth.

Adam Black remained one of the leaders in the new church. He had continued running his publishing business until the end of 1870, when he handed over to his sons, James, Francis and Adam. Early on the morning of Saturday 24 January 1874, a month before his ninetieth birthday, Adam Black died. On the following morning,

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<sup>74</sup> CH14/14/1 Minute 20 October 1861, p.197

<sup>75</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *ibid.* p.198

<sup>77</sup> *ibid.* undated Minute pp.199-200 (A cutting from the newspaper is included in the minutes.)

his death was intimated to the members of the church he had served so faithfully.

Unlike the common practice of the period, there is neither an obituary minute nor a pulpit eulogy in the church records. Somehow I think the simple statement announcing his death would have been sufficient for him. He was buried in Warriston Cemetery four days later. In the words of *The Scotsman* editor, Adam Black was ‘one of the noblest citizens [Edinburgh] ever possessed’.<sup>78</sup>

Lindsay Alexander completed forty years as minister of Augustine Church in February 1876. To mark the occasion, at a social gathering, he was presented with £1,500 and a ‘memorial gift consisting of a time piece with side ornament.’ The clock was suitably inscribed

in grateful recognition of the profound learning, fearless fidelity, and the christian (*sic*) love with which he had discharged the duties of his sacred office.<sup>79</sup>

In June 1877, however, Alexander wrote to the church informing them of his resignation as their minister. He had accepted the appointments as Principal and Professor of Theology at the Congregational Theological Hall and the pastorate was too onerous.<sup>80</sup> In any case he had intended to resign at the end of that year. (He was sixty-nine years old.) His resignation was ‘received with much regret’, not only among his ‘attached congregation’ but by friends throughout the country who ‘cherished towards him feelings of grateful admiration and respect’.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Nicolson, *Adam Black*, p.260

<sup>79</sup> CH14/14/1 Minute 24 February 1876, p.392

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.* Minute 6 June 1877, pp. 418-20

<sup>81</sup> Ross, *Lindsay Alexander*, pp. 216-7

These tributes from those he served show something of the impact Alexander's ministry had in Edinburgh and beyond. A lasting legacy is the German Church, to which reference has already been made. One Sunday afternoon, in his vestry before the service, he was told that some 'foreign folks' had come to hear him and were sitting in the pew in front of the communion table. These were six German girls, to whom Alexander spoke in their own language after the service. While passing by outside, they had heard the congregation singing a German chorale so had decided to enter the church. In Edinburgh several other German girls were employed who did not attend church as they could not understand the language and no one had paid any attention to them. Alexander encouraged the girls to bring their friends and, when they did so on the following Sunday, he announced the hymns and Scripture reading in German to enable them to follow the worship. Again he spoke to the visitors, now filling two pews, at the end of the service. After a few weeks he decided to employ a German missionary who could visit them and preach on Sundays.<sup>82</sup> The first missionary was Johannes Blumenreich, who eventually became the founding pastor of the German church, meeting in an upper room at 5 Queen Street. Thus we have an example of Alexander's wide-reaching pastoral concern, which, together with his preaching gifts, attracted 'hearers' from throughout the city and across the denominational spectrum.

In July 1881 he resigned his posts at the Theological Hall. Again this news was received with deep regret throughout the Congregational denomination. In the

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<sup>82</sup> *ibid.* p.238

morning of 20 December 1884 Dr. Alexander died ‘so quietly that those around him hardly knew when he had ceased to breathe’.<sup>83</sup> His funeral service, conducted by G. D. Cullen and James Gregory, Alexander’s successor at Augustine Church, took place on Christmas Eve at his home, Pinkieburn House, near the village of Inveresk, outside Edinburgh. He was buried in the local cemetery. The preacher on the following Sunday morning was Andrew Thomson of Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church, who paid tribute to Alexander’s character and worth and his long and honourable service.<sup>84</sup>

The members’ own eulogy is recorded in the church minutes, the following extract from which provides a glimpse of the kind of pastor he was.

It is with mingled sorrow and thankfulness that the church would now acknowledge how great was its privilege in having the advantage of a ministry so instructive, and so perfect in its consecration of great gifts & profound learning to the service of the Master. In Dr. Alexander the members of this Church found a true friend – one who was ever ready to give them the benefit of his good counsel, & to sympathise with them in their joys and in their sorrows. [---] Dr. Alexander was a great scholar and an acute thinker, but above all he was a faithful minister of the Lord Jesus Christ whose gospel he preached in all its simple purity.<sup>85</sup>

As might be expected after such a long pastorate, Alexander’s resignation proved traumatic for Augustine Church. A pastoral committee was set up to consider a successor. Following several months of deliberation, in October 1878 the committee issued a unanimous call to G. S. Barritt of Norwich who declined the invitation, stating in his letter of 29 October, ‘I fail to hear His voice bidding me to

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<sup>83</sup> *ibid.* p.231

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.* pp. 233-4

<sup>85</sup> CH14/14/2 Minute Book of the Congregational Church Assembling in Augustine Church 14 July 1878 -6 December 1905, Minute 14 January 1885 pp. 101-2

move to Edinburgh'.<sup>86</sup> In May 1879, despite an acrimonious division in the church over the issue, the committee sent a call to Charles New of Hastings, which he, too, declined. As a result the pastoral committee resigned and a fresh, smaller committee was elected.<sup>87</sup> Finally, in November 1879, James Gregory, minister of Belgrave Chapel, Leeds, accepted the invitation to Augustine Church and was inducted in the following January.<sup>88</sup> During this protracted vacancy the church had been pastored by Dr.Cullen, who, with his wife, had joined Augustine in February 1862 after his retrial from the ministry.<sup>89</sup> He was to remain a member until November 1884 when he advised the church that he 'desired to return to the fellowship of the Leith Church of which he was so long a pastor'. This decision was accepted with regret, given his long and honourable connection with Augustine Church.<sup>90</sup>

Early in his ministry, Gregory introduced changes in the church's practice. After an experimental period, the Sunday afternoon service was replaced by an evening one.<sup>91</sup> This reflected altered social patterns with more leisure facilities being available on Sundays. It was also easier for domestic staff, for example, to attend church then, as their duties for the day would be over.

Two controversial issues were raised at the church meeting on 6 April 1892. Female members attended these meetings and voted on decisions which were taken

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<sup>86</sup> *ibid.* Minute 3 November 1878, p.8

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.* Minute 21 May 1879, pp. 19-23

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.* Minute 19 November 1879, p.33

<sup>89</sup> CH14/14/1 Minute 13 February 1862, p. 204

<sup>90</sup> CH14/14/2 Minute 19 November 1884, p.99

<sup>91</sup> *ibid.* Minute 27 October 1880, p. 47

but there is no record of any woman speaking. Mr. James Stewart, a member, gave notice to the pastor that he wished to be informed

If (*sic*) it was competent for a woman to take part in the business meetings and hold any offices in a congregational church.<sup>92</sup>

Gregory replied that it

was quite competent for a woman to do so, although as far as he was aware the privilege was not taken advantage of.<sup>93</sup>

This question must be seen in the context of the time when women were increasingly admitted to the professions such as medicine and to the universities for higher education. In 1892, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies had been formed, and served to intensify the movement for women to be given the parliamentary franchise on the same basis as men. These social and political pressures may have prompted the member's question regarding a woman's role in the church. (Despite Gregory's assertion, it was not until April 1929 that the Congregational Union of Scotland amended its constitution to allow the designation 'minister' to apply equally to women as well as men. Thus the Church recognised Miss Vera Findlay (later Mrs. Kenmure) as the 'first woman ordained to a pastoral charge in a Scottish mainstream denomination'.<sup>94</sup> She had been called to Partick Congregational Church, Glasgow before completing her B.D. degree at the Scottish Congregational College and became its minister on 1 November 1928. This

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<sup>92</sup> *ibid.* Minute 6 April 1892, pp. 191-192

<sup>93</sup> *ibid.* p.192

<sup>94</sup> Elizabeth Ewan, Sue Innes and Sian Reynolds (eds.) *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, pbk. edn. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p.191

illustrates the discrepancy between theory and practice which can occur in church affairs, since Miss Findlay's ordination took place over thirty years after an Augustine member had raised the question of a woman 'holding office' in the Congregational Church.)

The second issue raised at the April 1892 meeting was a proposal that unfermented wine be used at the communion services. This was remitted to the following meeting, when, because of the 'great diversity of opinion among the members', the deacons proposed to drop it. However, they were overruled by a large majority who sent the question back to the deacons with two additional members to consider and report to a future church meeting.<sup>95</sup> It was not until January 1894 that it was agreed by a large majority that in at least one communion service per month 'non-intoxicating wine' should be used.<sup>96</sup> This incident illustrates the power of the ordinary member in churches with a congregational form of government. They were able to overrule the deacons when they did not agree with their decision, yet at the same time were open to compromise in a matter which could have divided the church.

James Gregory intimated his intention to resign as pastor in June 1894 but continued in office until November. Perhaps learning their lesson from the protracted vacancy after Alexander's resignation, almost immediately the members called A.R. Henderson of Montrose. He accepted their invitation on 1 December and was inducted as minister of Augustine Church on 7 February 1895. He was to remain there until 1902 when he moved to Castle Gate Church, Nottingham.

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<sup>95</sup> CH14/14/2 Minute 4 May 1892, p.193

<sup>96</sup> *ibid.* Minutes 6 December 1893 and 17 January 1894, pp. 208-209

The minute books of Augustine Church provide a rich source of information regarding membership, recording details of the applicants whose names were brought to the church meeting for approval. Where the applicant transferred from another church, or where a member moved elsewhere, this information was recorded, thereby giving an indication of migration into and out of the city. The records also showed the extent to which the membership changed over the period of review. Occupations are also recorded in some cases, especially, as might be expected, divinity students at the Congregational Theological Hall, which was situated at 30 George Square, and indeed for a time its classes were held in the church basement.

Between 1853 and 1905 over 1500 people joined Argyle Square/Augustine Church. Among these new members were Alexander's parents and sister, who in January 1862 transferred from Dublin Street Baptist Church, the successor to Elgin Street.<sup>97</sup> Neither their home address nor the reason for the transfer is recorded. It may be that they wished to support their son and brother in his increasingly distinguished ministry but the transfer also indicates the close relationship remaining between the Baptist and Congregational strands of the Haldane foundations despite the divisions in 1808 over baptism.

Of these 1500 new members almost half were traced. The results are analysed in Table 5:8 compiled from information in the two minute books (Appendices 3a and 3b pp.77-182). The most notable change over the period is the decrease in domestic servants, reflecting the increasing employment opportunities for women in other fields, such as shop assistants.

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<sup>97</sup> CH14/14/1 Argyle Square Minutes 16 January 1862, p.203



**Table 5:8 Augustine Congregational Church: Social Status of Members 1853-1905**

Status Group	Male		Female	
	1853-1878	1878-1905	1853-1878	1878-1905
A (professional group, generally university graduates))	18	23	14	25
B (commercial group:- bank officials, accountants, insurance agents )	11	3	6	11
C (large merchant-manufacturers)	25	12	19	28
D (retired, annuitants, landlords, farmers)	23	28	60	69
E (public servants (I) druggists, local government officials, architects, surveyors, civil engineers, customs officers)	6	6	2	8
F (public servants (II) teachers, divinity students/city missionaries, other students, clerks, book-keepers)	20 (students) 18 (other)	13 (students) 9 (other)	8 (students) <sup>98</sup> 14 (other)	1 (student teacher) 7( other)
G (small manufacturers and tradesmen, shopkeepers, lodginghouse keepers, dressmakers with separate business premises)	28	32	30	32
H (skilled and semi-skilled trades, nurses, cooks, shop assistants, dressmakers, milliners)	30	11	29	25
I (unskilled labourers, chimney sweeps, janitors, domestic servants)	8	3	80 (servants) 3 (other)	35 (servants) 8 other
Total in sample	372	254	533	400
Occupations traced	187 (50%)	140 (55%)	265 (50%)	249 (62%)
High Status (A-D) *percentage of occupations traced	77 (41%)*	66 (47%) *	99 (37%) *	133 (53%) *
Low Status (E-G)	72 (39%) *	60 (43%) *	54 ( 20%)*	48 (19%) *
Working-class (H-I)	38 (20%) *	14 (10%) *	112 (43%) *	68 (28%) *

<sup>98</sup> 5 at boarding school and 3 students at the Free Church Normal College (now Moray House)

Augustine seems to have been the church of choice for students and staff of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society (EMMS), the work of which was described in Chapter 4. Its headquarters were at 56 George Square. Among the staff who became members of the church was the superintendent, the Rev. Dr. John Lowe. He was accepted as a member on 21 February 1883, on transfer from Richmond Place. His son, also John, had transferred from Hope Park on 27 June 1880 and his two daughters, Anne and Jessie, became members of Augustine on 18 June 1884, following a report to the church meeting. Anne married a doctor and, in July 1886, went with him to India where he served as a medical missionary.

Lowe's successor as superintendent was Dr. E. Sargood Fry, who, with his wife, was admitted as a member on 5 July 1893. At least six medical students joined the church either from George Square or 39 Cowgate, where they obtained their clinical training. Others may have attended the church without entering into formal membership. There would be no record of such individuals. An unusual medical member was Wunga Fun, 'a Chinese, lately passed the examination of MD'. He was admitted on 4 October 1855 by bringing a 'line of recommendation from the Congregational Church in [blank] Massachusetts'.<sup>99</sup> Wunga Fun's address is not stated nor is there any further record of him so his presence in Edinburgh remains a mystery. The EMMS students were committed to missionary service overseas on qualifying as doctors, so their membership of Augustine would have been limited to the duration of their courses.

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<sup>99</sup> CH14/14/1 Minute 4 October 1855, p. 35

Returning missionaries also joined the church. Miss J. E. Donald was re-admitted on 11 November 1875 on her return from Madagascar, where she had served with the London Missionary Society, who provided a letter of recommendation.<sup>100</sup> More intriguing were Mr and Mrs John Nobbs, who were received as members on 15 November 1876, transferring with a 'certificate from Rev. E. J. Hall, pastor, in name of the British and American Congregational Church, St. Petersburg'.<sup>101</sup> Their son, Athelstane, was admitted on 14 January 1885, following a report to the members, confirming that he must have been a child when his parents came to Edinburgh. A second couple from St. Petersburg were the Rev. Dr. William Nicholson and his wife, Winifred, who were admitted as members on 12 October 1898. He had retired as agent there of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS).

The initiative for the formation of a Bible Society for Russia came from John Paterson, pastor of the Congregational Church, Cambuslang from 1802-1804, who had translated Scriptures into several northern European languages in the early nineteenth century. In 1811 he had translated the Bible into Finnish but could not have them printed in Finland, which was then part of the Russian Empire. Permission to print copies in St. Petersburg had to be personally sanctioned by the Czar, Alexander I. This was duly given and on 5 August 1812, avoiding Napoleon's Grand Army on its march towards Moscow, Paterson arrived in St. Petersburg. While overseeing the printing of the Finnish Bible, Paterson planned to start a Bible Society

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<sup>100</sup> *ibid.* Minute 11 November 1875, p.388

<sup>101</sup> *ibid.* 15 November 1876, p.403

for Russia, ‘envisioning a truly Russian Bible Society to serve all the millions of the Czar’s peoples’.<sup>102</sup>

The BFBS was already operating in his Baltic provinces, where local societies had been formed, but none were in Russia itself. Paterson arranged for Prince Galitzin (or Golotzin) to present to the Czar a Memorial containing the plans for the Bible Society for Russia, which had to have imperial approval. Prince Galitzin, a friend and confidant of Alexander, exerted a spiritual influence on his emperor, who had appointed him Procurator of the Holy Synod, so making him responsible for religious affairs. The turning point was the burning of Moscow to prevent the city falling into Napoleon’s hands, an event which, Alexander said, ‘shed light in his soul’.<sup>103</sup> As a result of their country’s miraculous deliverance, many Russian aristocrats turned towards mysticism. Accordingly, permission for the new Bible Society was given, with the usual ukase appended to the document, ‘So be it, Alexander’.<sup>104</sup> Prince Galitzin was appointed the Society’s first president.

On Paterson’s return to Scotland in 1827 he soon became involved in the affairs of the Congregational Union, serving several churches. He chaired the committee which established a central fund for the support of the weaker churches. Lindsay Alexander was a member of the committee.<sup>105</sup> When Paterson’s daughter, Jean,

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<sup>102</sup> James M. Alexander, ‘John Paterson, Bible Society Pioneer 1776-1855: The Earlier Years 1776-1813’ in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* Vol. 17 (1972) 131-153 (p.151)

<sup>103</sup> Henri Troyat, *Alexander of Russia: Napoleon’s Conqueror*, trans. by Joan Pinkham (Sevenoaks, Kent: New English Library, 1984), p.241

<sup>104</sup> Alexander, ‘John Paterson’ Part 1 p.152

<sup>105</sup> James M. Alexander, ‘John Paterson, Bible Society Pioneer 1776-1855: The Later Years’ in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* Vol. 18 (1974) 181-200 (p.199)

married in 1844, Alexander conducted the ceremony.<sup>106</sup> Thus there is another link with Augustine Church.

## **5.8 Brighton Street Evangelical Union Congregational Church**

In chapter 2 the formation of this church in 1845 was noted, while in the following chapter was described the role it played in the 1859 revival under the leadership of its founding minister, John Kirk. In its early years Brighton Street experienced difficulties with the church government, which was congregational in form. On 22 October 1851 the deacons resigned as a body with only three members voting for them to ‘resume their offices’. On the following Sunday, the pastor proposed that five elders be appointed to assist with spiritual matters with deacons and managers, all to be elected by a clear majority,

to take charge of all the pecuniary affairs of the Church, especially to consider and arrange for the poor among the Members.<sup>107</sup>

From this we may deduce that the office-bearers did not have the confidence of the members, a problem which was to recur in July 1863 when the deacons again resigned. While it was agreed that twenty be chosen in new elections, only twelve accepted office, including five who had resigned.<sup>108</sup> There were also difficulties regarding the minister’s salary of £50 per annum, which had been paid through an annual donation by Sir Wilfred Lawson. On his death in August 1867, a special

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<sup>106</sup> *ibid.* p.200

<sup>107</sup> CH14/5/1 Brighton Street Minutes of Church Meetings 7 July 1845-22 June 1899, Minute 22 October 1851 and later note (pages are unnumbered). There is a gap in the records between May 1852 and July 1863.

<sup>108</sup> *ibid.* Minute 10 July 1863 followed by undated minute

meeting of members was convened ‘to consider and adopt a scheme for improving the finances of the Church.’<sup>109</sup> Despite these apparent setbacks, however, Brighton Street was soon to experience a spiritual renaissance.

In his annual report to the church meeting on 2 April 1874, Kirk stated that there had been ‘greatly increased religious interest’ due to the Moody and Sankey campaign which had ended a few weeks earlier. He describes its effect on Brighton Street as follows:-

[A] large amount of enquiry had been excited, especially amongst the young people, a number of whom had decided for the Saviour. He had also been waited upon for conversation by many who were led to inquire in connection with the general evangelistic efforts throughout the city, and in this way his labours had, under God, been owned to a not inconsiderable extent. The additions to the membership of the church were much above the average; the number admitted having been 71 as against an average of about 48 during the four preceding years.<sup>110</sup>

At the same meeting, probably because of the increase in new members and enquirers, the question of an assistant for John Kirk was first raised and commended ‘to the careful consideration of the Church’ as prior notice of the proposal had not been given.<sup>111</sup> The matter was discussed at the following annual meeting, having been spoken of among the fellowship during the intervening period. Unusually, Kirk himself opened the discussion. He was now over sixty years old and in his thirtieth year of ministry among them. Although not as strong as he was, he thought he could still serve them for a few more years. He then suggested how the matter should be

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<sup>109</sup> *ibid.* Minute 8 August 1867

<sup>110</sup> *ibid.* Minute 2 April 1874

<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*

dealt with. He would ‘convey his views in writing to the office bearers’ who, having considered the matter, would call a special meeting of the congregation at which he himself would not be present so that ‘the Brethren could freely talk the matter over among themselves’.<sup>112</sup>

He wrote to the office bearers from Birkenhead on 6 April 1875 suggesting that he make way for a younger man or continue for a further five or six years with the help of an assistant. He concludes,

My earnest desire is that whatever the great majority of the members wish, should be done. [----] My wish is that I should know as early as possible what the desire of the great body of members really is so that I may act accordingly.<sup>113</sup>

Correspondence over the next few weeks indicated that Kirk’s preference would be for a young man from college to assist him. A more experienced man would not be appropriate as they would ‘get in each others way’.<sup>114</sup> A special meeting was called on 1 July 1875 at which it was resolved that ‘assistance should at once be given’ not only because of the claims of Brighton Street but also because of his leadership in the Evangelical Union and his work for social and temperance reform throughout the United Kingdom. They proposed a co-pastor to undertake ‘half the pulpit labours’ and assist in other pastoral duties as required.<sup>115</sup> The appointment of his twentytwo-year- old son, also John, as assistant was proposed but did not achieve sufficient support. Shortly afterwards, however, with the approval of his father, Kirk junior accepted an invitation to pastor the Evangelical Union congregation then meeting in

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<sup>112</sup> *ibid.* Minute 2 April 1875

<sup>113</sup> *ibid.* Letter to the Office Bearers of Brighton Street Church 6 April 1875

<sup>114</sup> *ibid.* Pastor’s Letter 1 June 1875

<sup>115</sup> *ibid.* Resolution adopted at special meeting 1 July 1875

Grindlay Street.<sup>116</sup> His father presided over young Kirk's ordination to that charge on 6 October 1875, Brighton Street having been lent for the occasion. This description of the service hints at what lay ahead for the older congregation.

The scene so unusual was very touching. There, upon the spot where his father had so long stood and proclaimed the word of life, knelt his son. As Dr. Kirk rose and laid his hand, with those of many others, upon the youthful head, most of the assembly were in tears. And when, overcoming his felt weakness, Dr. Kirk gave utterance to the solemn words of the Ordination, all were deeply impressed.<sup>117</sup>

On 4 November 1875 a student, John Mackintosh, was unanimously invited to become the assistant minister of Brighton Street, the pastor, deacons and 270 members and adherents having signed the call.<sup>118</sup> This collaboration between pastor and assistant was not to be, as Kirk had been on extended absence because of illness, interrupted briefly to conduct his son's ordination. A few weeks later, writing from his home at Ardneil House, West Kilbride, in Ayrshire, where he was convalescing, Kirk submitted his resignation as pastor. He felt 'utterly unable' to resume his duties, stating

the energy I have drawn in forty years of public speaking is evidently exhausted and I have no choice left me. I therefore send you my resignation of that charge which was laid upon me a few months over thirty years ago. [---] My prayer will ever be that [God] may prosper you and give you in every respect, to be a blessing in the world.<sup>119</sup>

At a special meeting of members on 24 February, the pastor's resignation was considered. While his letter was 'received with the deepest sorrow and regret', the

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<sup>116</sup> Kirk, *John Kirk*, p.445

<sup>117</sup> *ibid.* p.447

<sup>118</sup> CH 14/5/1, Minute 4 November 1875

<sup>119</sup> *ibid.* Letter Kirk to Office Bearers 8 February 1876



members wished to continue their relationship with their pastor in some form and two senior office bearers were appointed to ‘confer with him generally on the subject’, reporting to the congregation later.<sup>120</sup> At the same meeting, a letter from John Mackintosh was read, expressing concern over his situation in the light of the changed circumstances in the church. It was unanimously agreed to invite him to continue his present engagement till October, when he would complete his college course. They also wished to know whether, if a unanimous invitation were presented to him by the church and congregation, he would be willing to remain with them after that date as their pastor. Their reasons for this offer were the increased interest in the congregation since he began working among them and any change ‘should not be for the welfare of the church’.<sup>121</sup>

Kirk was offered the role of honorary pastor with a small allowance. He declined on the grounds that it was unscriptural and the money could be devoted to more needy causes. With changing membership in the latter years of his ministry, when his health was failing, he had no claim on them, nor would he on future members of the church. However, he did agree to a testimonial subscription, which between April 1876 and April 1877 raised £1,400. In August 1876, Mackintosh was invited to become pastor, having fulfilled his position as assistant by 30 September, at a salary of £250 per annum. He accepted the offer and was ordained on 26 October 1876.

John Kirk lived for several years after his retirement from the ministry. In September 1886 he became ill and died on Wednesday 27 October, aged seventy-

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<sup>120</sup> *ibid.* Minute 24 February 1876

<sup>121</sup> *ibid.*

three. The obituary notices in the evening papers of that date recorded that he ‘had passed out of time into eternity’.<sup>122</sup> His funeral took place on 1 November with a service at Fountainbridge Chapel ‘in presence of a large assembly of both sexes’.<sup>123</sup> He was buried in the Grange cemetery. At their first meeting after his death, the Brighton Street members recorded their own tribute. The hallmarks of his ministry are clearly stated.

By the preaching of the glorious gospel, by the clear exposition of the way of salvation, by the instruction of the young in the principles of religion and by the advocacy of total abstinence from intoxicating liquors we believe that Dr. Kirk was by the blessing of God the means of guiding hundreds to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and of stimulating many believers to increased activity in Christian work.<sup>124</sup>

As the church still had problems in appointing deacons, with few of those elected accepting office, in December 1881 a change in its governance was agreed, effective from January 1882. Instead of annual elections, twelve deacons were to hold permanent positions with responsibility for spiritual affairs along with the pastor. In addition twelve managers, retiring annually by rotation, were appointed who were responsible for secular affairs such as property and finance, including seat lettings. The church secretary was chosen from the deacons and the treasurer from the managers.<sup>125</sup> By making the deacons permanent, they became more like Presbyterian elders who were ordained for life. In this respect Brighton Street seemed to take on aspects of the dominant ecclesiastical culture.

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<sup>122</sup> Kirk, *John Kirk*, p. 520

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.* p.524

<sup>124</sup> CH14/5/1, Minute 4 November 1886

<sup>125</sup> *ibid.* Minute 8 December 1881

The 1880s were a troubled time in the congregation's history. In November 1884 a special meeting of members was held 'to consider the spiritual state of the church' as reported by a committee which had been established to discuss the matter.<sup>126</sup> The report shows that the church was divided over the effectiveness of Mackintosh's ministry, particularly with regard to the youth of the church. There is a degree of unfairness in this judgement as he appears to have been ill. In response to the complaints he

admitted that there might be grounds for some of them and expressed his regret that there were those who had not received benefit from his services, but was hopeful that with his present increase of strength he would in future render such service as would make such complaint unlikely to occur again.<sup>127</sup>

Unsurprisingly perhaps, one month later Mackintosh demitted the charge of Brighton Street Church, having received a unanimous call to the Evangelical Union Church in Darvel, Ayrshire. In his short statement from the pulpit, during which he was 'fairly overcome', he concludes:

This decision is made with such anguish of the affections that I hope, except it be for your sanctification, you may never experience the like. I cannot put a greater tax upon my feelings now. I bid you a deeply loving farewell.<sup>128</sup>

With the juxtaposition of these minutes, one wonders how far the problems he had faced contributed to his decision to leave Brighton Street so suddenly, as he required a period of rest before taking up his new appointment. Seldom does the historian discover such frankness in the minutes of meetings.

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<sup>126</sup> *ibid.* Minute 20 November 1884

<sup>127</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> *ibid.* Minute 28 December 1884

In May 1885 the church called the Rev. Robert Craig, Manchester, to be their pastor and he was inducted in September that year. Within the first two years of his ministry, one hundred and eighty two members had been added to the church.<sup>129</sup> Once more Brighton Street was experiencing a period of growth. In April 1890 it was agreed to increase the pastor's stipend to £450 per annum. Any balance above £12 remaining in the church accounts at the end of the financial year was also to be paid to him, with an upper limit of £40.<sup>130</sup> In this way the members were showing their appreciation.

By the closing years of the century, it was felt that the Brighton Street premises were no longer suitable for their needs. It was therefore decided to sell these buildings by public roud (auction), using the money for a new church in nearby Bristo Place, where they already owned a hall and shops. As the shops were now vacant, the premises could be adapted. The ladies of the congregation agreed to organize a bazaar to raise additional funds.<sup>131</sup> Imagine the consternation, in this strictly teetotal congregation, when they learned 'with much regret' that the successful purchaser of the Brighton Street property would likely use the premises as 'an excise warehouse'.<sup>132</sup> While their new church was being built, they met in the hall of the Protestant Institute in George IV Bridge. In June 1899 they moved to their new building, naming it Bristo Place Congregational (Evangelical) Union Church, so called following the amalgamation of the Evangelical Union churches with the Congregational Union on 1 January 1897.

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<sup>129</sup> *ibid.* Minute 22 September 1887

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.* Minute 24 April 1890

<sup>131</sup> *ibid.* Minutes 31 March and 16 June 1898

<sup>132</sup> *ibid.* Minute 27 October 1898

The church diary for 1898 shows how busy this congregation was.

10am Sabbath Morning Fellowship Association  
 Public Worship 11am 2.30pm  
 Sabbath School 4pm  
 Senior Youths' Class 4pm  
 Young Men's Bible Class 4pm  
 Young Women's Bible Class 5.15 pm  
 Tuesday 8.15 Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour  
 Thursday 6pm Dorcas Society and applicants for clothing (winter months)  
     8pm weekly prayer meeting  
 Friday 7pm Junior Christian Endeavour  
     7pm Brighton Street Band of Hope  
     8.30pm Church Choir (for practice of hymns)  
 Saturday 6.30pm Elementary class for children attending Sabbath schools (winter months)  
 Bristo Place Hall Sabbath: Prayer 6.30pm, Open Air opposite McEwan Hall 6.45pm  
     Evangelistic Service 7pm <sup>133</sup>

With such a crowded Sunday timetable it is not surprising that the congregation was admonished thus in the Pastor's and Deacons' Report for 1893.

The fashion of attending only once a day in Brighton Street for public worship diminishes our congregations; and the central meetings are apt to be neglected for the sake of other meetings and forms of work, all of them good in their own place and praiseworthy. If some members would determine to attend regularly twice a day in Brighton Street, there would be more encouragement to those who continue faithful to the two diets of worship.<sup>134</sup>

The office bearers recognised, however, that the distance from the homes of some members and the long interval between the morning and afternoon diets of worship could cause difficulties. Some, too, would be teaching in the various classes. Such problems were common in the more evangelical churches of the period.

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<sup>133</sup> CH14/5/4 Brighton Street E. U. Congregational Church Annual Report and Directory 1884-1899 (1899 Directory final page unnumbered)

<sup>134</sup> CH14/5/1, Pastor and Deacons Report 28 September 1893

The source documents for my occupational analysis were the printed annual reports and directories covering the period from 1884 to 1899.<sup>135</sup> These contained names and addresses of members, from which every tenth was selected plus those of the same family. The results are summarised in Table 5:9 with individual details contained in Appendix 4 (pp.183-208).

The most obvious comparison with the previous studies is the limited number of members from the professional classes. Apart from the minister, Robert Craig, his wife and three daughters, the only others from this sample were Peter Slater, a solicitor, and William C. Mackenzie who had the qualification Doctor of Science. His occupation could not be traced as he was still living at home. His father, the head of the household, was Bailie Donald Mackenzie, an iron founder and Justice of the Peace.<sup>136</sup> Particularly notable is Jane Alice Craig, the pastor's second daughter, who qualified as a doctor, listed in the 1899 members' directory with the degree Bachelor of Medicine. The occupations of her sisters, Maggie May and Mary Lily, are unknown. As in the previous case studies, most of the unskilled females were domestic servants.

The majority of members, both male and female, were from the retired/rentier class, then the shopkeepers, businessmen and tradesmen (groups C and G).

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<sup>135</sup> CH14/5/4, Annual Report and Directory 1884-1889

<sup>136</sup> A bailie was a magistrate who was elected from his fellow town councillors to preside over the burgh court.

**Table 5:9 Brighton Street Evangelical Union Congregational Church:  
Social Status of Members 1884-1889**

Status Group	Male	Female
A Professional (minister, solicitor, Doctor of Science (the son of an iron founder) )	3	4 (wife and daughters of minister; one qualified as M B 1899)
B Commercial (house agent, coal company agent, commission agent, 2 sons)	5	5 (wives and daughters)
C Large Merchant-Manufacturing (boot and shoe maker with 26 shops, tea/coffee merchant, tartan & tweed manufacturer, victualler & corn and hay dealer, manufacturing goldsmith, 2 sons, daughter of wool merchant )	7	11 (wives and daughters)
D Retired-Rentier (income from property or investments, landlords)	40	59
E Public Servants (I) (druggist, engineer at sea, soldier Curragh Camp, Ireland, wife and son of assistant H M Inspector of Schools)	4	3 (wives)
F Public Servants (II) (teacher, clerk, reporter/shorthand writer, 1 son)	4	1 (boarding school) 5 (wives and daughters)
G Small Merchant-Tradesmen (various shopkeepers, builder/joiner, wheelwright/blacksmith, iron founder, ironmonger, proprietor Cockburn Temperance Hotel, 6 sons, refreshment room owner (female), stationer (female))	24	26 (wives and daughters) 2 (own businesses)
H Skilled/Semiskilled (shop assistants, confectioners, type-founder, carpenter, plumber, joiner, lorry, van & wheel works, toolmaker, painter, 5 sons, ladies' nurse, nurse, milliner + mother and sister)	20	4 shop assistants, 3 nurses, 3 milliners, 20 (wives and daughters)
I Unskilled Workers (school caretaker, hostel caretaker, chimney sweeper, butler, servants, wife of cow feeder, cane & willow worker, wife & daughter of dairyman, wife of chimney sweeper)	4	31 servants 5 others
<b>Total in sample</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>319</b>
<b>Occupations traced</b>	<b>111 (65%)</b>	<b>182 (57%)</b>
<b>High status (A-D) * percentage of occupation traced</b>	<b>55 (50%) *</b>	<b>79 (43%) *</b>
<b>Low status (E-G)</b>	<b>32 (29%) *</b>	<b>37 (20%) *</b>
<b>Working class (H-I)</b>	<b>24 (21%) *</b>	<b>66 (37%) *</b>

Appropriately for Brighton Street, one, Bailie John Macpherson, was the proprietor of the Cockburn Temperance Hotel at 1 Cockburn Street. His home latterly was at 1 Ramsay Garden, a prestigious group of houses perched at the top of the Mound

between Edinburgh Castle and New College. The most successful business man was probably William Muir, a boot and shoe maker with twenty-six shops scattered throughout the city. Another was William D. Stewart, proprietor of Romanes and Paterson, Clan Tartan and Scotch tweed manufacturers to the Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Royal Family, with a shop at 62 Princes Street.

As much of the present-day suburban Edinburgh was then farmland, the needs of a rural economy are evident. We have a corn and hay dealer among the merchants and, at the opposite end of the social scale, the wife of a cowfeeder. Another essentially rural occupation is the cane and willow worker. She would be weaving baskets, probably self-employed but earning very little. There is the first mention of motor transport in 1899 with Alexander Meikle who, in partnership with his son, operated a lorry, van and wheelworks at Beaverbank. He lived nearby at 2 Canonmills. A puzzling occupation was that of John Marshall, a ‘sack superintendent’ with the North British Railway Company. Presumably he was responsible for ensuring that the mail was deposited on the correct train.

## **5.9 Bristo Place Scotch Baptist Church**

In chapter 2 the origins of the Scotch Baptist Church were described briefly. Robert Carmichael, formerly an Antiburgher Secession minister, had founded an independent church in Edinburgh, at the same time continuing his employment as a printer. After his own baptism by immersion in London, on his return to Edinburgh he baptised five members of his little church and two others who had come to share his views regarding believers’ baptism. With this simple act in the Water of Leith, near Canonmills, on 25 November 1765 the first Scotch Baptist Church was formed.



They met originally in the Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate, renting it from the Incorporation of Hammermen, one of the city's trade guilds. In 1560, this Chapel had been the meeting place of the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. It is therefore one of Edinburgh's most historic buildings.

Initially the Scotch Baptists, with a congregational form of government, had no formally trained ministry. Leadership was in the hands of lay pastors or elders. (The terms are synonymous.) At least two, occasionally three, were required, who kept their secular employment as well as exercising spiritual oversight over the church in preaching and teaching, for which they were unpaid. We have already noted in Chapter 2 that Archibald McLean, who had been elected as co-pastor in 1768, was responsible for setting other Scotch Baptist churches in order throughout Scotland and beyond. The Edinburgh fellowship was regarded as the mother church to give advice and spiritual guidance in matters of dispute. After twenty years of faithful service, the church agreed to pay McLean sixty guineas a year (increasing to one hundred guineas at the time of his death) so that he could devote himself to preaching and writing. This, however, was unique in the special circumstances of McLean's position.<sup>137</sup>

Deacons were also elected. They assisted the elders with the worship and in visiting members of the congregation. For the latter, each deacon was allocated a district for which he was responsible. Two of the deacons acted as clerk, responsible for administration of the church's business, and as treasurer, who oversaw its finance. Those chosen as lay pastors had usually served as deacons beforehand.

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<sup>137</sup> Robert Dawson Mitchell, 'Archibald McLean, 1733-1812, Baptist Pioneer in Scotland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1950), pp.111-112)

Following several changes of location, in 1835 the church moved to a new building in Bristo Place, where they remained for one hundred years, until their present premises on Queensferry Road were opened. What was Sunday like for the members and adherents in the nineteenth century? This was the pattern of a typical Sabbath day:-

Young Men's Fellowship Meeting 9.45 AM  
 For Worship 11AM  
 Communion service 2.15 PM  
 (Love-Feast between these meetings)  
 Sabbath School 5.15PM  
 Evangelistic Meeting 7PM

In addition to the usual psalms, hymns, readings from the Bible and prayers, morning worship included the distinctive Scotch Baptist practice of 'exhorting', whereby men from the congregation spoke on some aspect of doctrine or gave a word of encouragement from Scriptures. There were two or three of these extempore exhortations as well as a sermon by one of the pastors (elders). Those who exhorted were observed carefully, as this gave practice in preaching for future elders. With such a long morning service, there was very little time before the afternoon communion, which until 1919 was restricted to members only (i.e. those who had been baptised as believers). This limited time posed a practical problem, as there was very little transport, at least in the earlier years, and people attended Bristo Place from throughout the city. The solution was the love-feast, a simple meal, which gave

an opportunity for promoting social intercourse among the Members, and for communicating intelligence regarding those sick or absent, or on any matter of interest.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> *Handbook of the Scotch Baptist Church* (Edinburgh, 1875), p.5

This pattern of worship continued until 1906 when the afternoon service and love feast were discontinued, with communion immediately following the morning service. The evening service was brought forward to 6.30 pm.<sup>139</sup>

Between 1850 and 1905 Bristo Place had ten pastors in all, with overlapping periods of service because of the dual pastorate. The most significant were the Andersons, Robert (1835-1850) and his two sons, Robert (1838-1868) and Charles (1868-1884).<sup>140</sup> Their father had founded the large firm of R. Anderson and Company, iron merchants and importers, based in Leith, the port of Edinburgh, and trading mainly with the Baltic countries.<sup>141</sup>

The first full-time minister was William Grant (1870-1902), son of Peter Grant, pastor of Grantown-on-Spey Baptist Church and a noted Gaelic poet. William inherited his father's preaching ability and had assisted him. In the 1840s a deacon of Bristo Place, the solicitor John MacAndrew, paid for Grant's university education at the recently opened Free Church College (New College), where he was influenced by Thomas Chalmers. With this background it is unsurprising that, as noted in Chapter 3, Grant, three years after his arrival in Edinburgh, supported Moody and Sankey in their evangelistic campaign of 1873-74. Grant served as pastor of Bristo Place until

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<sup>139</sup> *A Journal of Proceedings in connection with Bristo Place Baptist Church Edinburgh*, 14 February 1904- 19 July 1914 , Minute 22 March 1906 (pages are unnumbered)

<sup>140</sup> Dates show the duration of their pastorates.

<sup>141</sup> See Christine Lumsden 'A Family's Service: The Andersons of Bristo Place Baptist Church, Edinburgh: Part 1' *Baptist Quarterly*, 41 (January 2006), pp.281-300 for the history of this family.

his death in 1902. During his ministry, membership increased from two hundred to more than six hundred, the highest in the church's history.<sup>142</sup>

The second full-time pastor, the Rev. W. B. Nicolson (1897-1919) had graduated Master of Arts at Edinburgh University in 1884, having in the previous year begun to study theology 'in the hall of the Baptist Union of Scotland'.<sup>143</sup> His was a much quieter ministry. In contrast to Grant, as previously indicated, Nicolson had had misgivings about the impact of the 1905 Welsh revival in Edinburgh, considering that it generated too much excitement.<sup>144</sup> He resigned his pastorate in 1919 on his appointment as Secretary of the Baptist Union of Scotland, but he was already in poor health and died in June 1920.

Of the remaining lay pastors, two may be mentioned. Alexander Cromar (1888-1907) had been born in Aberdeenshire, the son of a manufacturer of 'winceys and cotton'. He came to Edinburgh in 1842 to work with J.B. Gallie and Company, iron merchants, becoming a partner in 1849. There is thus a possible link with the Anderson family firm. Cromar had been brought up in the Church of Scotland but in 1843 'came out' and joined the Free Church. He later was convinced of believers' baptism and, having been baptised, was received into membership of Bristo Place in May 1856. In 1867 he was elected a deacon, a position he held until he became

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<sup>142</sup> Margaret I. Smith, *Bristo Baptist Church History 1765-1965*, (Edinburgh: Bristo Baptist Church, 1965), p.19

<sup>143</sup> Obituary *Scottish Baptist Magazine* June 1920, p.68

<sup>144</sup> See Chapter 3 p.190

co-pastor in 1888. He had also served as church treasurer. He died in 1907 aged 87.<sup>145</sup>

The last lay pastor was Percival Waugh (1903-23) who had been born in Galway in 1854, educated in Dublin, and brought up as an Episcopalian. In 1872 he came to Edinburgh for his employment with the Legacy Duty Office, reaching the position of Assistant Secretary to the Board of Inland Revenue and Registrar of Death Duties in 1915. Waugh 'became a Baptist by conviction'.<sup>146</sup> He joined the Bristo Place Church in the 1880s, serving as a deacon from 1886 and as clerk from 1890 until his election as co-pastor in 1903. When Waugh retired from that office twenty years later, he was not replaced, so ending the system of lay co-pastors, which had been an unbroken tradition of the first Scotch Baptist church since its foundation in 1765. By adopting a single trained pastorate Bristo Place entered the mainstream of Scottish Baptist life. In recognition of this change from a dual, lay pastorate form of church government, the designation 'Scotch' was discontinued from the church's title in 1927. Waugh's last public duty, in October 1933, was to lay the Memorial Stone of the new building on Queensferry Road.<sup>147</sup> He died in April 1934.

The source documents for my analysis of the membership of Bristo Place were the church handbooks, published annually from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1920s. As the earlier years were incomplete, the period from 1875 to 1905 was chosen. Some occupations were traced from the 1871 and 1881 census returns but, as

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<sup>145</sup> Obituary, *Bristo Place Magazine*, April 1907 (This was a single sheet.)

<sup>146</sup> Obituary, *Scottish Baptist Magazine*, May 1934, p.3

<sup>147</sup> Smith, *History*, p.27

before, the Edinburgh Post Office directories were more useful. The results are summarised in Table 5:10 with the detailed information in Appendix 5 (pp. 209-228).

The Group A sample consisted of William Grant, with his daughter, Anne, while the veterinary surgeon was John Riddoch, with his wife. Percival Waugh is the senior civil servant in Group E. He had married a daughter of William Grant, who

nobly seconded her husband in all his many labours for the church, the Home Mission and in all denominational matters. <sup>148</sup>

The other public servants give us a glimpse of the poorer side of Edinburgh life. The Night Asylum, situated at 190 High Street, was a refuge for the homeless. In addition to William Gilchrist, the superintendent, John Troup was also a member, (Group I). As there was no other information about him, I assumed he was employed at the Asylum, rather than a resident. William Bennet, the governor of the City Poorhouse, and his wife were also members.

A more unusual occupation was that of Donald MacDonald. He was the ‘attending boatman’ between Granton, then a village neighbouring Leith, and Inchkeith, in the Firth of Forth, about midway to Kinghorn in Fife. After twenty-five years of argument between the Corporations of Edinburgh and Leith, and following numerous petitions and deputations, including several from Fife, it was finally agreed in 1878 that the island should be refortified and a military road built. The workmen

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<sup>148</sup> Obituary, *Bristo Place Magazine*, June 1920

**Table 5:10 Bristo Place Scotch Baptist Church: Social Status of Members 1875-1905**

Status Group	Male	Female
<b>A Professional</b> (minister, veterinary surgeon )	2	2 (wife and daughter )
<b>B Commercial</b> ( bank manager)	1	1 (wife)
<b>C Large Merchant-Manufacturing</b> (corn factor, iron merchant, bootmaker (large employer) grocer (large business) piano maker, fancy draper	6	5 (wives and daughter)
<b>D Retired-Rentier</b> (income from property or investments, landlords)	24	93
<b>E Public Servants (I)</b> (senior civil servant, postmaster, architect, draughtsman, superintendent Night Asylum, governor City Poorhouse, optician)	8	5 (wives)
<b>F Public Servants (II)</b> (teacher, book keeper, insurance clerk, coal merchant's clerk, wife of schoolmaster, wife of missionary, music teacher (daughter of piano maker)	4	3
<b>G Small Merchant-Tradesmen</b> (various shopkeepers, coal merchant, drysalter, ironmonger, shop woman, apartments, hosier & shirtmaker)	15	14 (relatives) 5 own business
<b>H Skilled/Semiskilled</b> (shop assistants, boot maker, joiner, baker, printer, cabinetmaker, tailor, upholsterer, lithographic artist, cook, milliner, dressmaker, nurse)	15	11 (relatives of tradesmen) 4 shop assistants, 4 nurses, 3cooks, 4 milliners/dressmakers
<b>I Unskilled Workers</b> (attending boatman (Grant-on-Inchkeith), cutter in rubber works, gatekeeper (Royal Infirmary), Night Asylum (job unspecified) , warehouseman, night watchman, church officer)	7	33 servants, 4 relatives 2 (laundress, embroiderer)
<b>Total in sample</b>	115	338
<b>Occupations traced</b>	82 (71%)	193 (57%)
<b>High Status (A-D) * percentage of occupations traced</b>	33 (40%)*	101 (52%) *
<b>Low status (E-G)</b>	27 (33%) *	27 (14%) *
<b>Working class (H-I)</b>	22 ( 27 %)	65 (34%) *

lived in huts on Inchkeith during the week, returning to Leith from Saturday nights to Monday morning.<sup>149</sup> As MacDonald's name first appears in the members' handbook of July 1881, it is likely that his task was to ferry men and materials to and from Inchkeith.

The merchants and shopkeepers, however, provided the leadership of Bristo Place, as the following examples show. Among the deacons, Andrew Bowie (1875-1882) was employed by R. Anderson and Company, although his role is unspecified; Alexander Mackenzie (1882-1900) was a baker, cook and confectioner with two shops. Thomas Lugton (1889-1922) was a bootmaker employing about forty people. Shopkeepers were well represented in the congregation with several grocers, a few china merchants, and booksellers. In 1881 Benjamin Baikie was a teacher of English and classics. By 1901, when he was in his seventies, he had opened a stationer's shop, so providing an income when retirement pensions were very small or non-existent. Catering to the large middle-class consumer market in Edinburgh, was Peter Roughead who made and tuned pianos, later diversifying to become a dealer in musical instruments. At least three of his daughters, who all joined Bristo Place, were music teachers, although whether privately or in schools is uncertain.

As in the previous studies, female members were concentrated in the retired/ rentier group and in the working class, especially servants. The obituaries in the church's magazine tell the stories of some of these women. They provide an insight into their position in Victorian society, with the restricted activity open to

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<sup>149</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, III, p.292



them. The emphasis was on their role as homemakers, whose duty was to set an example to others.

Christian Steele had been born in 1839 and brought up in Augustine Congregational Church. Around the time of her marriage in 1868 to Robert Grove Anderson, son of Robert Anderson junior, Christian was baptised and admitted into membership of Bristo Place. Robert Grove died in 1874, aged thirty-six. His childless widow, only a year younger, had been known since her marriage as Mrs. Grove Anderson. Thereafter she 'identified herself with the work of the church'.<sup>150</sup> With her death in 1922, the Anderson family connection with Bristo Place, which had begun with the baptism of Robert, senior, in 1790, came to an end.

Mrs. Gavin Brown died on 5 March 1916, having been a member for over thirty-six years. She was 'most helpful to mothers in their homes' being involved in the city's health visitation scheme and labouring among the poor in district mission work.<sup>151</sup> Mrs. Kerr, who had been in membership for sixty-one years since 1856, 'was tireless in home duties and uncomplaining under many hardships'.<sup>152</sup> Only one of the published obituaries referred to someone who was not middle class. Miss Joanna Macdonald died on 5 May 1930 after fifty-five years as a member. She had spent all her working life in domestic service, 'which precluded her from active participation in church work'. Nevertheless, she was

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<sup>150</sup> Obituary, *Bristo Place Magazine*, November 1922 (Additional information from a copy of the Anderson family tree given to the author by the late Mrs. Joyce Sanderson, a descendant of the Andersons.)

<sup>151</sup> Obituary, *Bristo Place Magazine*, April 1916

<sup>152</sup> *ibid.* April 1921

deeply respected, not only by the members, but by those to whom she had rendered long and faithful service.<sup>153</sup>

These obituaries also reveal the high level of commitment to their church. Long-standing membership, often passed down through generations of the same family, is a rarity in today's more mobile, consumer-driven society.

### **5.10 Charlotte Chapel**

The origins of this church were described briefly in Chapter 2. It was constituted, following the 'English' Baptist model of one full-time pastor, on 24 January 1808 when sixteen baptised believers met in Richmond Court to partake of the Lord's Supper led by Christopher Anderson, who had been ordained three days beforehand.<sup>154</sup> Although, as a youth, he had worshipped with his family in the Scotch Baptist Church, Anderson considered that their practices of a dual, lay pastorate, exhorting and the love-feast were unscriptural. He therefore gladly accepted the call to the new fellowship which had been sent to him a month previously, remaining its pastor until his death in 1852. In 1818 the young congregation moved to Charlotte Chapel, Rose Street, retaining the name of the building they had bought from the Episcopalians, who had erected a new edifice, the Church of St. John the Evangelist, at the corner of Lothian Road and Princes Street. Although a later building on the same site, Charlotte Chapel remains at the west end of Rose Street, behind the city's main thoroughfare, Princes Street.

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<sup>153</sup> *ibid.* June 1930

<sup>154</sup> Balfour, *Revival*, p.19

Despite its foundation early in the nineteenth century, the Charlotte Chapel office-bearers did not begin keeping minutes of meetings until December 1877, when the Rev. Owen D. Campbell became minister. These form three volumes covering elders' meetings, deacons' meetings and the Church Minute Book, which records members' meetings. This last begins on 1 January 1891 under the pastorate of Thomas Way and ends on 10 May 1896. Accordingly the Charlotte Chapel records are limited in scope compared to the others which have been examined. The Church Minute Book mainly consists of approval for membership applications and transfers to other churches.

There were two main sources of information regarding the members.<sup>155</sup> The first was the 'Church Register of the Baptised Believers Worshipping in Charlotte Chapel Rose Street Edinboro' (*sic*), a manuscript list covering the period from about 1813 to 1884. Names are listed in order from the date of admission, either by baptism or by other means, usually transfer from other churches; dates of resignation, exclusion or death are also noted. The second list, which formed the source document for my membership analysis, is a printed alphabetical Church Roll dated April 1908. This contains 520 Edinburgh residents who were members, of whom only 146 (28%) were male.<sup>156</sup> Cross referencing with the original register showed that a few had joined the church as early as 1868. This Church Roll therefore provided a timescale comparable to that of the other churches examined. The membership analysis is shown in Table 5:11 with details in Appendix 6 (pp.229-249).

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<sup>155</sup> Records held by Charlotte Baptist Chapel

<sup>156</sup> Charlotte Chapel allowed members who had left Edinburgh to retain their membership for a period.

Table 5:11 Charlotte Chapel Church Roll 1908: Social Status of Members

Status Group	Male	Female
<b>A Professional</b> (minister, lawyers )	3	5 (wives and daughters )
<b>B Commercial</b> (accountant, insurance agent, bank manager)	2	6 (wives and daughters)
<b>C Large Merchant-Manufacturing</b> (daughter of cleaner/dyer, wife and daughter of glass merchant/ glazier, large firms)	0	3 (wife and daughters)
<b>D Retired-Rentier</b> (income from property or investments, landlords)	22	55
<b>E Public Servants (I)</b> (civil servant, postmaster, superintendent Union Canal)	3	5 (wives and daughters)
<b>F Public Servants (II)</b> (music teacher, physical training teacher, book keeper, boarding school)	2	2 (boarding school, Miss Gossip) 1 (daughter of book keeper)
<b>G Small Merchant-Tradesmen</b> (various shopkeepers, ships chandler, coal merchant, boot maker (2 shops), builder, cabinet maker, typewriter company manager, restaurant owner)	14	19 (wives and daughters) 1 restaurant owner
<b>H Skilled/Semiskilled</b> (shop assistants, hairdresser, printer, art metal worker, boot maker, apprentice cabinet maker, costumier, relief stamper, wives of printer and shoe maker, nurse)	9 1(brother of costumier)	7 shop assistants 1 nurse 2 (other occupations) 7 (wives and daughters)
<b>I Unskilled Workers</b> (school janitor (London Street) , gatekeeper (Heriot's), caretaker Dean Orphanage, seamstress, office caretaker, servants)	1 servant (Nelson publisher) 3	114 servants, 1 daughter of janitor, (John Watson's) 1 wife of janitor (London Street) 1 CA office caretaker
<b>Total in sample</b>	146	374
<b>Occupations traced</b>	60 (41%)	231 (62%)
<b>High status (A-D) * percentage of occupations traced</b>	27 (45%) *	69 (30%) *
<b>Low status (E-G)</b>	19 (32%) *	28 (12%) *
<b>Working class (H-I)</b>	14 (23%) *	134 (58%) *

It is evident that for both men and women the retired/rentier group formed the majority of the high status members, while the only professional men were the minister, Joseph Kemp (1902-1915), and the solicitor, Andrew Urquhart with his son, William. Andrew Urquhart served as church secretary for thirty-one years until his death in 1917 at the age of 65.<sup>157</sup> The transforming ministry of Joseph Kemp for the work of Charlotte Chapel has been described in Chapter 3. A curious omission, when compared with the previous case studies, is the lack of men in the large manufacturing and merchant group. However, the wife and daughter of John Coutts, a glass merchant and glazier, and Ruth Henderson, whose father was proprietor of a dyeing and dry-cleaning business, were members.

The most significant low status members were shopkeepers or tradesmen with their own businesses, but here we have ‘new’ occupations appearing. Elizabeth Henderson lived at 73 Hanover Street, a vegetarian restaurant, and was possibly the owner. Alexander Mitchelson was manager of Williams’ Typewriter Company at 19 Shandwick Place. More exotic, sharing the same address, was William Bruce Sutherland, proprietor of the Edinburgh School of Physical Culture. His business advertisement reads

Sandow medallist, holder of the world’s endurance records, teacher of physical culture and wrestling and weightlifting; schools, colleges etc. attended. Patronised and attended by all classes. Recommended by the principal Edinburgh doctors.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Balfour, *Revival*, pp. 66-67

<sup>158</sup> Post Office Directory 1908-9, p.383

Self publicity was certainly Sutherland's strong point. The advertisement also reflects the growing movement towards health and fitness in the late nineteenth century.

The ships' chandler was Eilif Beruldsen, an elder, who was in trouble because of his involvement with the early Pentecostal movement. The *Charlotte Chapel Record* (their monthly magazine) reported an 'awakening' in Norway in 1907 where there was 'much "speaking with tongues" (so-called) and much disorder'.<sup>159</sup> His name indicates that Beruldsen was possibly Norwegian by birth so would have known of the situation there. In January 1908, with his wife, Christina, he travelled to Sunderland, in the north of England, where the Pentecostal movement in Britain had originated through the influence of Alexander A. Boddy, an Anglican minister.<sup>160</sup> There they both received a baptism in the Spirit. On their return to Edinburgh, they were allowed to testify in the Chapel 'just once!' confessing that they had spoken in tongues.<sup>161</sup> This practice was rejected by the conservative evangelical churches of the time. Undaunted, the Beruldsens began Pentecostal meetings in their spacious home in the Murrayfield district, moving later to a Mission Hall in Leith, where Beruldsen had his business premises.

At one third of the female members traced, Charlotte Chapel had a very high concentration of servants. Over fifty of these lived within Charlotte Square and its immediate area. Location, therefore, was a factor, although some travelled from other

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<sup>159</sup> Balfour, *Revival*, p.109

<sup>160</sup> Tom Lennie, *Glory in the Glen: A History of Evangelical Revivals in Scotland 1880-1940* (Fearn: Christian Focus, 2009), p.422

<sup>161</sup> *ibid.* p.430

parts of the city. Three of the girls worked in the households of members, including Mr. and Mrs. Kemp. An interesting variation is Miss Tait, who was admitted as a member following her baptism in June 1866. She resigned on 6 October 1867, having ‘gone to Brighton as a missionary to servants’.<sup>162</sup> There is no more information about her, probably because her membership lasted for such a short period.

## Conclusion

Though diverse in their government, the churches studied had some characteristics in common. The outstanding feature is the number of female members in proportion to men. As indicated in chapter 1, part of the explanation is the high rate of male emigration and the large numbers of Scots, in proportion to the population, serving in the armed forces of the United Kingdom. Male mortality, too, has always been higher than female. In cultural terms religion has been regarded often as a matter for women rather than men, despite the fact that the churches were ruled by men. Table 5:12 compares the male/female ratios in the various status groups.

As may be expected, the high status males are more common in the Established and Free Churches, given the preponderance of legal and medical men in their congregations. Most of the females in groups A-C were wives and daughters but in Group D they were either unmarried or widows. This balance is more evident in Augustine and Bristo Place, where there were more Group D women. Group E-G includes students, with women beginning to enter teacher training. The total for Free St. George’s is distorted to some extent because of the sixty-six girls from boarding

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<sup>162</sup> Church Register (pages unnumbered)

schools, particularly that run by the Misses Gossip. Overwhelmingly, however, the female members came from the working class and were mainly servants.

**Table 5:12 Comparison of Male and Female Members as Percentage of Sample**

<b>Status Group</b>	<b>St. Stephen's Church of Scotland</b>	<b>Free St. George's</b>	<b>Augustine Congregational</b>	<b>Brighton Street Evangelical Union</b>	<b>Bristol Place Scotch Baptist</b>	<b>Charlotte Baptist Chapel</b>
<b>Male A-D</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>45%</b>
<b>Female A-D</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>30%</b>
<b>Male E-G</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>32%</b>
<b>Female E-G</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>12%</b>
<b>Male H-I</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>23%</b>
<b>Female H-I</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>58%</b>

Because of the importance of domestic service to the Edinburgh economy (as discussed in Chapter 1), let us examine this group of females within each congregation to determine whether there was any particular denominational preference or whether other factors played a part in their choice of church.



**Table 5:13 Analysis of Female Servants Within the Membership**

<b>Church</b>	<b>St.Stephen's Church of Scotland</b>	<b>Free St. George's</b>	<b>Augustine Congregational</b>	<b>Brighton Street Evangelical Union</b>	<b>Bristo Place Scotch Baptist</b>	<b>Charlotte Chapel</b>
<b>Total members in sample</b>	370	590	533 (1853-1878) 400 (1878-1905)	319	338	374
<b>Number of servants</b>	60 (16%)	140 (23%)	80 (1853-1878) (15%) 35 (1878-1905) (9%)	31 (10%)	33 (10%)	114 (30%)

The church which stands out in this analysis is Charlotte Chapel. Situated as it is in the west end of Rose Street, it is close to Charlotte Square and the wealthiest part of the New Town, where the majority of Edinburgh's servants would be employed. Nearby, Free St. George's had a similarly high proportion. This suggests that location could have been a determining factor in a servant's decision as to which church to attend, since her free time would be limited. While her mistress would normally encourage church attendance, the servant often chose the nearest place of worship, rather than attend the family's church, although a few did so.

Augustine, Brighton Street and Bristo Place were located, within a few minutes walk of each other, to the south of the High Street, leading to George Square, another wealthy district, though on a smaller scale than the New Town. This would limit the

opportunities for domestic work in the vicinity. The figures for Augustine show a decreasing proportion of servants, and indeed of the working class generally, as is evident from Table 5:8 above. By the later nineteenth century the church was becoming more middle class. However, there is insufficient evidence to determine how far this was due to upward social mobility within individual families. As no records have survived, it is impossible to determine why these servants chose one denomination over another.

Where membership rolls recorded transfers from other churches, we have evidence of migration to Edinburgh from throughout the United Kingdom. Except for divinity and other students, these transfers often took place among predominantly working-class occupations. An unusual example of a divinity student is John Reid, who joined St. Stephen's Church of Scotland in October 1873 from an Original Secession Church (Appendix 1 p.21). Mrs Tennant, was admitted as a member of Augustine Congregational Church on 11 October 1860 on transfer from Stirling; on 17 December 1868 she moved to Airdrie (Appendix 3a p.101). At the same church in January 1865 Anne Johnson and Margaret Mason both transferred from London (p.113). Sometimes the members' stay in Edinburgh could be short-lived. Owen Owens and David Jones, printers, were admitted to Augustine on 20 November 1873 but returned to Carnarvon, Wales in June and November 1874 respectively (p.134). As their addresses in Edinburgh were not stated, it was not possible to trace any further information about these men.

The records of Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church, whose mission in the Canongate will be examined in Chapter 7, include a manuscript 'List of young men

in Lodgings belonging to Broughton Place UP Church 1891'.<sup>163</sup> The list gave basic information, namely their lodgings addresses, mostly in the vicinity of the church, and occupations or courses of study. Details of their home areas were noted for approximately two thirds of the men. Twelve were students and a further twelve worked in offices of various kinds; the remainder were shop assistants or tradesmen, probably apprentices. One, Thomas Murray of Dundee, was a domestic servant. Nothing is known of their parents' occupations. The following tables summarise the information from the list.

**Occupations and Origins of Young Men at Broughton Place**

**Table 5:14a Students**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Course</b>	<b>Home Area</b>
James Drever	unspecified	Stromness, Orkney
Simon Wallace	ditto	Leven
Archibald Ferguson	Moray House	Forres
John Gilmour	medicine	Burntisland
John Grassick	divinity	Glasgow
W S Smith	ditto	ditto
D Lunn	arts	Kinross
F L Wilson	ditto	Blackburn [West Lothian]
R A Roxburgh	law	Kinross
Allan Ramsay	ditto	Dundee
J B Russell	ditto	ditto
J P B Smith	ditto	Pitlessie [Fife]

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<sup>163</sup> CH3/564/298 Miscellaneous papers 19th to 20th century

**Table 5:14b Clerical Workers**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Home Area</b>
David Alexander	bank clerk	Duns
John Alexander	ditto	ditto
Herbert Ferguson	telegraphist GPO	Forres
James Gilmour	law clerk	Burntisland
William Gordon	ditto	Forres
R T Hill	ditto	Boness
J M Hendry	ditto	Dundee
T F Mowat	ditto	Stromness, Orkney
Thomas F Purves	ditto	ditto
R S Young	ditto	Kinross
J S Young	ditto	ditto
J T Richardson	mercantile clerk	Cowdenbeath

**Table 5:14c Shops and Trades**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Home Area</b>
James Caw	art designer	Buckhaven
M Roxburgh	grocer's assistant	Kinross
E M Young	ditto	ditto
Alexander Young	druggist's assistant	ditto
R G Thomson	ditto	Buckhaven
W T Weir	stationer's assistant	Inverness
R Anderson	joiner	Cambo, Kinross
Charles Louden	tailor	Kinross
Thomas Stewart	sawyer	Dundee

Almost a quarter came from Kinross, suggesting the possibility that the law clerks, R.S. Young and J.S Young, and the shop assistants, Alexander and E.M. Young may have been related. Family and local connections would play a part in decisions to migrate. With four law students and eight clerks, the legal profession is well represented. This is unsurprising, given the importance of law to the city of Edinburgh.

Membership records, as summarised in the appendices, also provide evidence of emigration, most commonly to and from England, but we also have examples of the wider Scottish diaspora. In St. Stephen's Lewis Hoyes had been born in Granada, West Indies (Table 5:6, p.239). Peter Stevenson was admitted from the United Provinces, Canada (Appendix 1, p.23). Among the Argyle Square congregation, in June 1855 Andrew Brown, a railway agent, came from Geelong, Australia but two years later he moved to Newcastle (Appendix 3a, p.82). Alice Hughes, a returning

emigrant, joined that church in December 1869 from a Methodist Episcopal church in Broomfield, Massachusetts (p.119). There is no further information about any of these migrants.

The stories of individual members in this chapter have mainly been from the high status groups because these are the people whose lives are recorded. We should not forget the majority who quietly lived out their faith day by day. The next chapter will focus on church discipline, which will provide a glimpse into some of these lives, though not for the happiest reasons.

## Chapter 6: Church Discipline<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

As indicated at the close of the previous chapter, one area in which the churches exercised considerable control over their members was through oversight of personal behaviour. The post-Reformation Church of Scotland by law established, considered discipline of all the inhabitants within its parishes to be a primary function of the Kirk Sessions. This was based on Calvin's regard for discipline as 'the ligaments by which the members of the body are joined together each in its proper place'.<sup>2</sup> Elders and ministers themselves, moreover, were not immune from discipline. As early as in the *First Book of Discipline* (1560) it had been stated

Seniors (elders) ought to take heed to the life, manners, diligence and study of their ministers. If he be worthy of admonition, they must admonish him; of correction, they must correct him, and if he be worthy of deposition, they with consent of the Kirk and superintendent may depose him.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, elders were under the same discipline, with the minister and their fellow elders admonishing them. How could they sit in judgement over their parishioners when their own behaviour, and indeed that of their wives and children, was not above reproach?

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<sup>1</sup> See Christine Lumsden, 'Church discipline in nineteenth-century Edinburgh: Contrasts and Comparisons' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 38 (2008) 83-104 for an early version of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> G. D. Henderson, *The Scottish Ruling Elder*, (London: James Clarke & Co. Limited 1935), p.101

<sup>3</sup> Chapter X Section 5 quoted in Ivo Macnaughton Clark, *A History of Church Discipline in Scotland*, (Aberdeen: W&W Lindsay 1929), p.127

Because all were seen as members of the Church by virtue of birth in Scotland, Kirk Session discipline pervaded the whole community, especially after Presbyterian government became settled within the Church of Scotland in 1690 following years of religious upheaval. The basic document, covering the procedure to be adopted, was *The Form and Process in the Judicatories of the Church of Scotland with relation to Scandals and Censures* approved by Act of the General Assembly in 1707. The offences dealt with included 'swearing, cursing, profaning the Lord's Day, drunkenness and sexual sins'.<sup>4</sup> As we shall see in the Martin/Wishart case in Free St. George's, kirk sessions had similar powers to the civil courts in that the elders investigated the accusations against the members and could summon witnesses to testify under oath. Punishment of those judged guilty varied from private admonition by the minister or an elder to suspension from church privileges, or excommunication, if the offence was particularly severe. Restoration to membership was possible when evidence of repentance was offered. In the earlier years of the practice this was done publicly by standing or sitting before the congregation for a prescribed number of Sabbaths and so involved considerable humiliation. The aim was 'not so much to punish as to involve the local community in changing the conduct of offenders'.<sup>5</sup> Ministers whose behaviour was called into question were summonsed to appear before the Presbytery.

However, during the 'Ten Year Struggle', when the Church of Scotland was trying to assert its spiritual independence from the state, problems occurred in determining who had the final jurisdiction in disciplinary cases. In 1834 the General

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<sup>4</sup> Burleigh, *Church History*, pp. 268-9

<sup>5</sup> Drummond and Bulloch, *1843-1874*, p.126



Assembly passed the Chapel Act, by which *quoad sacra* churches (extension charges) were allowed to form their own kirk sessions and be represented in the Assembly and the lesser church courts along with their ministers. Hitherto, these churches had been under the jurisdiction of the parish church. At first the system worked smoothly, until it was the subject of a challenge in the civil courts. The legal opinion was that the Church of Scotland had no power to pass the Chapel Act. Thus the *quoad sacra* sessions were abolished and their ministers and elders expelled from the General Assembly. Interdicts were issued to enforce this, affecting the whole constitution of Presbyteries, Synods and the General Assembly itself. One of the consequences of this legal decision was to call into question cases of church discipline which were tried by the ecclesiastical authorities. A Free Churchman, writing in 1891, cites the case of a minister who had been charged ‘with several acts of fraud’ which were found proven. He had confessed his guilt and sentence was duly passed by the Presbytery. However, he appealed to the Court of Session on the grounds that chapel ministers had taken part in his Presbytery trial. The civil courts thereupon ‘issued a decree of suspension and interdict and shielded the accused from his sentence’.<sup>6</sup> That was not the only case to be set aside. The whole process of church discipline had been thrown into disarray.

Only with the Presbyterian Secessions from the Established Church, from the eighteenth century onwards, was the authority of her minister and elders diminished. In addition, the growth of denominations such as Baptists, Congregationalists and Methodists, weakened the power of the national Church. Discipline in these churches

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<sup>6</sup> Thomas Brown, *Church and State in Scotland 1560-1843: A Narrative of the Struggle for Independence from 1560 to 1843*, (Edinburgh: MacNiven and Wallace 1891), p.234

then became a matter to be dealt with among communicant members of the individual congregations.

The Church of Scotland was also responsible for poor relief and education, so exercised a social as well as a spiritual oversight. From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, these functions were gradually taken over by the state, again weakening the Church's authority. With the growth of population, especially in the industrialising cities, many never attended church, so were completely free from the prospect of censure. Where kirk sessions or elders did exercise discipline, it was generally where public behaviour brought the church into disrepute. For example, in 1832 there was the case of a man 'who was drunk in church, slept and snored and fell on the stair.' On the following Sunday he had to sit in sackcloth before the whole congregation.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps he had been celebrating too well the passing of the Reform Act.

## 6.1 Offences

Particularly with the growth of evangelicalism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was increasing concern about national morality, and that correct standards of behaviour should be upheld. Some of the decisions, however, seem strange to us today. An example comes from the Scotch Baptist Church, which from 1835 until 1935 met in Bristo Place. A story had been passed down to succeeding generations of its members about a girl who had been expelled from membership for attending a performance of Handel's Messiah, not for her attendance as such, but for her refusal to acknowledge her sin in doing so. However, the written

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<sup>7</sup> Henderson, *Heritage*, p.48

record is slightly different. In his manuscript history, *Reminiscences of the Old Baptist Church Pleasance*, their previous meeting place, James Williamson records details of a sermon preached by Robert Anderson in November 1824, immediately after the great fires in Edinburgh. His sermon was from Amos 3:6

Shall a trumpet be blown in the city and the people not be afraid? Shall there be evil in a city and the Lord hath not done it? <sup>8</sup>

This was the earliest text Williamson, then aged eight, distinctly remembered. In his *Reminiscences* the mature Williamson provides more details.

The calamity was alluded to in all the pulpits in Edinburgh, some of the Ministers boldly asserting (and was very generally accepted) that it was a judgement upon the City on account of the “Musical Festival” which had taken place a short time before at which were performed Handel’s Messiah, Haydn’s Creation and some other Oratorios. [---] I have been informed on good authority that a prominent Edinburgh Organ Builder & Music Seller was separated from the Church for attending the Oratorio of “the Creation” the ostensible offence being his refusal to acknowledge his sin.<sup>9</sup>

Similarly, Robert Murray McCheyne had warned his congregation in St. Peter’s, Dundee against attending performances of oratorios because it meant

taking passages out of the Word of God, and setting them to music, and they are sung by profane persons.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Although he was not elected to the lay pastorate until 1835, as was the Scotch Baptist practice Robert Anderson began ‘exhorting’, or preaching in 1798. (Christine Lumsden, ‘A Family’s Service: The Andersons of Bristo Place Baptist Church, Edinburgh’ (part1) in *Baptist Quarterly* 41 (January 2006) 281-300 (285)

<sup>9</sup> James Williamson, *Reminiscences of the Old Baptist Church Pleasance* (Manuscript history held by Bristo Baptist Church n.d. but c.1890), p.9

<sup>10</sup> Robert Murray McCheyne *The Seven Churches of Asia*, first pub.1843 (repr. Tain: Christian Focus Publications 1986), pp. 30-31

These incidents suggest that evangelicals of the early nineteenth century found it difficult to accept that sacred texts could be used for what they considered entertainment, especially when sung by people who had no personal knowledge of salvation in Christ.

Similar disquiet was caused by visits to the theatre or opera. For example, at a members' meeting of Argyle Square Chapel (later Augustine Congregational Church, George IV Bridge) on 12 June 1856, the problem of such attendance was discussed. After 'lengthened conversation' the Church adopted the following statement which was considered to reflect the views of the majority.

The Church having had its attention called to the circumstances that several members are in the habit of frequenting the Theatre & Opera, expresses regret that such should be the case & earnestly entreat these friends to refrain from a practice which in the opinion of many of their Christian brethren is fraught with peril to their own piety & serious injury to the cause of religion and morals.<sup>11</sup>

For the evangelicals, there was a definite link between immorality and social disorder. This can perhaps best be seen in the reaction to the great cholera epidemic which began in Edinburgh in January 1832, coinciding with a period of political agitation and social unrest. The people who suffered most from the epidemic were the very poor. Early case reports of the disease blamed the victims' drinking habits, so the two became associated in the public mind. Drunkenness was regarded as concomitant with low social status. Evangelicals

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<sup>11</sup> CH14/14/1 Argyle Square Minute Book 1853-1878, Minute 12 June 1856, p.56

saw drink as a sensual indulgence, a barrier between God and man, an impediment to conversion as well as a source of improvident social irresponsibility.<sup>12</sup>

Alcoholism also led to neglect of religion and loss of independence through the resulting poverty. Hence, the morality of the drinks trade itself was questioned, as we saw chapter 4. It did not seem to occur to many people that the overcrowded slums offered no privacy, as was available to the wealthy, who could indulge in such habits within their homes and clubs.

The powerful within the congregations escaped public censure, or indeed any at all, because they were unwilling to accept discipline or the Kirk hesitated to make a public example of them. Their misdeeds were heard in private and any punishment was ‘commuted to a monetary fine’.<sup>13</sup> These fines were used to supplement the Poor Fund which the parish churches administered. One ‘fault’ which did impact on the middle classes, however, was failure in business. This must be seen in the context of the period, where bankruptcy was regarded as a criminal offence, with the prospect of imprisonment until that penalty was abolished in 1880.

In dealing with such offences, church courts later differentiated between bankruptcies due to a trade recession, which could not be regarded as the fault of the businessman, and failure because of incompetence or carelessness. Acceptable standards of behaviour had to be upheld, particularly in evangelical circles. Such an instance was that of William May who had been ‘excluded’ from Charlotte Baptist Chapel ‘in consequence of his failure in business.’ Mrs. May resigned her

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<sup>12</sup> R. J. Morris, *Cholera 1832: The Social Response to an Epidemic*, (London: Croom Helm 1976) , p. 136

<sup>13</sup> Bruce, *A House Divided* , p.67

membership at the same time, 17 January 1854.<sup>14</sup> They had been admitted as members of the Chapel in June 1853 on transfer from Marshall Street Baptist Church. This may seem harsh after only a few months in membership but the records do not tell the complete story, simply noting the decision of the church. On the other hand, in the 1830s, Andrew Ker, a cabinet-maker and elder in the Clyde Street Scotch Baptist Church, Edinburgh, informed the church of his business failure. The members absolved him because of the economic recession and the fact that his creditors were slow to pay him what they owed.<sup>15</sup> The Clyde Street members had a more sympathetic view and took account of the prevailing economic situation, including the fact that Ker was not entirely to blame.

However, kirk session records show that, by the nineteenth century, cases of discipline focussed almost inclusively on sexual misdemeanours, especially in which pregnant young women were summoned before the elders. Treatment of men and women was not even-handed, unless the couple had married before the expected child was born. In some cases the girl did not name the father of her illegitimate child, raising the suspicion, especially if she was a servant, that he was a member of her employer's family. Appearance before the Session must have been very intimidating as these men were professionals of high standing in the community. After acknowledgement of her sin and her repentance the girl was 'restored to church privileges'. Repentance was also required before any child could be baptised. Later,

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<sup>14</sup> Manuscript undated 'Church Register of the Baptised Believers Worshipping in Charlotte Chapel Rose Street Edinboro (*sic*)' Note against their names. (Records held by Charlotte Chapel)

<sup>15</sup> Derek Boyd Murray, 'The Social and Religious Origins of Scottish Non-Presbyterian Protestant Dissent 1730-1800', (unpublished doctoral thesis, St Andrews University, 1976), p.178

the minister dealt with individuals privately and reported to the Session on the action he had taken.

Discipline in Presbyterian churches was exercised by means of admission to the sacrament of communion which was normally administered twice yearly. The actual service of communion was preceded by a period of fasting and preparation. Tokens were required before the prospective communicant could be admitted to the sacrament. The minister and elders would meet beforehand to examine the church's Communion Roll, with the district elder reporting on any misdemeanour among the parishioners within his charge. Only if the member bore a clear, consistent testimony was he or she given the token of admission to communion. Even at this service the presiding minister addressed intending communicants, warning them against taking the sacrament while harbouring secret sins, a practice known as 'fencing the tables'. This follows the apostle Paul's description of the institution of the Lord's Supper, where he enjoins each man to examine himself lest he partake of the bread and wine 'in an unworthy manner'.<sup>16</sup> With their careful scrutiny of the Communion Roll before issuing tokens of admission, the minister and elders were the examiners.

The distribution of tokens, however, could be open to abuse. At a Kirk Session meeting of Free St. George's the case of Miss A. Anderson was raised on Monday 27 October 1851. She had not received any token 'in the usual way of application' but had handed in one 'belonging to the Established Churches of Edinburgh'. This 'peculiar' case was reported on at the next meeting on 10 November when it was agreed to remove Miss Anderson's name from the Roll unless she 'was prepared to

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<sup>16</sup> I Corinthians 11:27-29

offer some explanation of her late conduct'. In the meantime Miss Anderson was suspended from membership.<sup>17</sup> As she offered no explanation when this decision was intimated to her, and refused to communicate with them on the matter, at a meeting on 22 January 1852 the Session decided to remove her name from the Communion Roll and advise her accordingly.<sup>18</sup>

We will now examine the records of some Edinburgh churches from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards to compare their practice of church discipline. It should be noted that in Presbyterian churches the minister is known as 'Moderator' when he chairs the Kirk Session. Churches with congregational forms of government also adopted this practice with reference to their church courts, confirming that in some respects they followed the dominant ecclesiastical culture.

## **6.2 St. Stephen's**

As noted in Chapter 4, this was a new parish, created in 1828 to serve the needs of the growing population of the New Town. It was a wealthy congregation in which most of its elders were lawyers, with some becoming judges. Appearance before this Session, therefore, must have been even more of an ordeal. It is noteworthy that all the records of disciplinary cases were under the ministry of Dr. Muir, the first incumbent. This perhaps shows the gradual decline in the church practice, as record keeping varied from church to church.

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<sup>17</sup> CH3/965/1 Free St. George's Session Minutes 1843-1865, pp. 213-4

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.* p.217



Between March 1851 and April 1866 sixteen cases of sexual misdemeanours were considered, in all of which the offenders ‘compeared’ before the Session.<sup>19</sup> Of the five couples, only one was middle class. Such cases were unusual as girls from this background were closely chaperoned. On 18 October 1861

compeared Charles Patrick Finlay Writer to the Signet, 6 Dundas Street for himself and Anne Arabella Stewart or Finlay his wife, who was certified by Dr Maclagan to be labouring under a cold and unable to attend, confessing the sin of antenuptial fornication. The Moderator stated that he had conversed with them and they appeared to be truly penitent; Whereupon the Moderator was authorised to restore and admit them to the privileges of the church.<sup>20</sup>

In two cases the husbands were stonemasons, while in another two the occupations were not stated. Their addresses, however, suggest they lived in a poor area of the parish. The final case of this type noted in the Kirk Session minutes was that of Mr. and Mrs. Crawford on 15 November 1865.

Compeared John Crawford 17 Allan Street Stockbridge and Anne McLean or Crawford his wife, confessing the sin of antenuptial fornication. The Moderator stated that they were distressed on account of their sin, and were desirous to be reformed. Whereupon the Moderator was authorised to repone them, admit them to church privileges and baptize their child.<sup>21</sup>

This suggests that the minister counselled the sinners prior to their appearance before the Session. In most of the records the same wording is used, so that the process, to some degree, is formulaic.

Much more difficult was the situation where a girl had borne an illegitimate child, especially when she did not, or could not, name the father. This was not normally

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<sup>19</sup> ‘Compear’ is a Scottish legal term meaning to appear in court.

<sup>20</sup> CH2/607/2 Session Minutes 1861-1880, p.10 (Dr. Maclagan was an elder in St. Stephen’s)

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.* p.80 (‘Repone’ is a Scottish legal term meaning to restore to office or status)

due to promiscuity on the girl's part, but rather because, as indicated above, he may have been in a position of authority over her. Eight such cases came before the St. Stephen's elders. In one, the offence occurred 'under promise of marriage' which never in fact happened.

Compeared Isabella Johnston presently residing at No 29 Thistle Street confessing the sin of fornication with Thomas Bougrie, Canonmills, committed under promise of marriage. The Moderator stated that he had conversed with her regarding her offence, and that she appeared to be truly penitent whereupon the Moderator was authorised to absolve her from the scandal and restore her to church privileges.<sup>22</sup>

One girl's partner had "gone of to America" so escaping his responsibilities. Special care was taken with servants, as may be deduced from the following case of 24 April 1862:

Compeared Jane Shepherd, servant with Mr Christison Great Stewart Street, confessing the sin of fornication. The Moderator stated that she had attended his class for servants that he had conversed with her and she had confessed her sin, appeared to be deeply penitent, craved pardon, and desired to be restored to the privileges of the church: Whereupon the Moderator was authorised to restore her accordingly.<sup>23</sup>

In none of these cases was penance before the congregation, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, required, suggesting that, in city churches at least, this form of public humiliation was dying out and a statement of repentance before the Session was sufficient for the sinner to be restored to the fellowship of the church.

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<sup>22</sup> CH2/607/1 Session Minutes 1829-61, pp. 347-8

<sup>23</sup> CH2/607/2 Session Minutes 1861-1880, p.22

### 6.3 Free St. George's

Jane Shepherd's employer may have been Robert Christison, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, who pioneered the science of forensic pathology, notably in the Burke and Hare case in 1829. He became an elder in St. George's Church of Scotland in 1847. This church opened in 1814, with Andrew Thomson, one of the most popular of Edinburgh's preachers, as its first minister. The church was similar to St. Stephen's but even more fashionable, situated as it was in Charlotte Square. However, the minister since 1834 had been Robert Candlish who, as one of the Disruption leaders, "came out" in 1843 with a large part of his congregation to form Free St. George's which met in Lothian Road. It is to that church we now turn.

This Session dealt with a greater variety of cases than St. Stephen's, and some took longer to resolve. For example, on Saturday 13 July 1844 Mr. Bell (Benjamin Bell, surgeon) the district elder,

reported to the Session the case of Mr A G a member of the congregation in the 6<sup>th</sup> District against whom there exists a charge of being frequently intemperate. This communicant has been admonished by Mr Bell and in reply he threatened legal proceedings. Dr Candlish moreover stated that he had accompanied Mr Bell to the house of A G when in conversation he admitted the charge made against him. The Session then suspended Mr A G from church privileges and appointed Mr Paul and Mr Duncan to intimate the same to him, and to deal with him.<sup>24</sup>

Although not directly stated, we may assume that the threatened legal proceedings were a charge of libel against the Session.

It was not only the men of the congregation who had such problems. In April 1851, the case of Mrs. Reilly was brought to the notice of the Session when

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<sup>24</sup> CH3/965/1 Session Minutes 1843-65, pp.57-58

distribution of tokens for admission to the communion was taking place. She attended the Fountainbridge Mission Station, an outreach from Free St. George's. (The growth of this Mission will be described in Chapter 7.) The missionary, Mr. Inglis, reported that he had seen her in a state of intoxication 'and as yet she did not seem to be brought to a right sense of her sin'.<sup>25</sup> The Session resolved to suspend her in the meantime. By October that year the situation had not changed. As she did not appear before the Session when called, Inglis and an elder were asked to 'deal specially with the case' and report to a further meeting at Fountainbridge. A year later, the report was given 'that no improvement of her conduct had taken place, and the crime of Intemperance is still persisted in'.<sup>26</sup> She was therefore suspended from membership. The long gap between these reports suggests that there must have been considerable pastoral concern over Mrs. Reilly's situation but to no avail. Alcoholism must have been a particularly difficult problem for anyone staying in Fountainbridge, where the principal industry was brewing.

In a later case, October 1862, the Session investigated Miss Lamb, against whom there existed a fama (or rumour) that she was intemperate. The Moderator and the appointed elders reported that no evidence to support the accusation could be found and the Session agreed 'to proceed no further in the matter'.<sup>27</sup> This case illustrates how church discipline was open to abuse where false charges were brought against people.

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<sup>25</sup> *ibid.* Minutes pp. 204-5

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.* Minute 28 October 1852, p.226

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.* Minutes 14 July and 18 October 1862, pp.397-8

A case of a different type, possibly involving criminal activity, was that of Mrs. Marshall who appeared before the Session on 23 April 1857 where she made confession of the offence of having untruthfully attempted to deceive those who came to search her house for a sum of money secreted there by one of her family.<sup>28</sup>

Mrs. Marshall 'expressed her regret for the scandal she had brought on the congregation.' On a report of her subsequent conduct being submitted by her district elder, it was

agreed to absolve her from further censure which was accordingly done after she had been suitably and impressively admonished by the Moderator.<sup>29</sup>

As with St. Stephen's, however, human relationships were a problem but they were dealt with differently. On Sunday morning 18 November 1849, William Macfarlan appeared before the Free St. George's Session for 'the sin of antenuptial fornication'.

The Moderator stated that he had several times conversed with him and Mr Fulton, the elder of the 16<sup>th</sup> district reported that W Mc seemed deeply impressed with the guilt of his offence and with the scandal he had brought on the Free Church. The Kirk Session agreed to restore him to his position as a member of the Free Church and the Moderator suitably addressed him and pointed out the obligation now laid on him to maintain a steadfast walk and conversation.<sup>30</sup>

Two other cases were dealt with in the same way, suggesting that it was the practice in Free St. George's to summon the husband alone before the Session. Where a girl had an illegitimate child, on the other hand, she was interviewed privately by the minister and the elder responsible for the district in which she lived.

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<sup>28</sup> *ibid.* Minute 23 April 1857, p.309

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.* Minutes, pp. 177-8

They then reported to the Session who authorised that she 'be restored to church privileges' on evidence of repentance.

More serious for Free St. George's was the case of James Martin, which dragged on from October 1855 to November 1856 and also involved another Kirk Session. Briefly, Dr. Candlish had received a letter from the Kirk Session of Culross Free Church, in Fife, stating that Isabella Wishart had appeared before them as she was unmarried and pregnant. She stated that James Martin was the child's father. When Dr. Candlish and an elder had visited Martin, he denied paternity. Martin was then summoned twice to appear before the Culross Session to answer the charge but failed to do so. On Monday 14 April 1856 the minutes read 'further proceedings were delayed as an action has been raised in the Civil Court.'<sup>31</sup> In June 1856 Isabella Wishart had appeared before Culross Kirk Session with a document 'entitled Agreement for settlement of action of Filiation and aliment and other claims' against James Martin which he had duly signed admitting paternity of the child.<sup>32</sup> The Culross Session notified Free St. George's and Martin was summonsed to appear before them again. In the meantime, he remained suspended, 'not possessing the privileges of membership'.<sup>33</sup>

At his next appearance, Martin stated that he had signed the documents to escape from the civil actions and his declaration was false. The Session agreed that this document 'could not be received as evidence of his innocence' and would consider

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<sup>31</sup> *ibid.* p.289

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.* Minute 9 June 1856, p.295

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*

further action.<sup>34</sup> They gathered evidence as to the character of both parties and finally, at a further meeting on 17 November 1856, interviewed Isabella Wishart ‘on oath’ with Martin cross-examining her. This quasi-judicial court decided that the testimony of witnesses corroborated his statement to the civil court and the Session unanimously found the charges of criminal intercourse with Isabella Wishart proven against James Martin. He declined ‘to lead further proof in exculpation’ and a committee of the elders present was appointed to deal with him ‘anent his guilt.’<sup>35</sup> The child, a daughter, had been born on 7 February 1856. Martin was a stationer with a business in Greenside Street so may have been the girl’s employer.

Perhaps St. George’s was unfortunate in having to deal with cases which also involved action in the civil courts. In December 1881 the Kirk Session was notified that George Norval, a married man, had been found guilty, by a decision of the Court of Session, of the crime of adultery. Before taking the matter further, however, St. George’s sought advice from the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh. Their advice, given on 28 December, was that Norval should be dealt with according to the laws of the church. By this time he had appealed against the Court of Session decision and it was agreed that no action could be taken until the appeal was heard but, in the meantime, he should be suspended from church privileges.<sup>36</sup> At a subsequent Kirk Session meeting, on 24 April 1882, it was reported that Norval’s appeal had been successful. However, it was decided that his case should be referred to a committee of Kirk Session members for consideration and that his suspension should continue.

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<sup>34</sup> *ibid.* Minute 26 June 1856, p.296

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.* Minute 17 November 1856, pp.302-3

<sup>36</sup> CH3/965/2 Minute 23 January 1882, pp. 716-17

By this time Norval had moved to Grangemouth and asked for a disjunction certificate so that he could join the church there. This was refused until the St. George's Session had interviewed him. Eventually, after several attempts, Norval appeared before the Session's committee, following a private interview with the Moderator, Alexander Whyte, who had succeeded Candlish as minister of Free St. George's. Norval admitted that he had been cited in a divorce case but the witnesses had been perjured. He had gone with the lady to a hotel in Dundee, giving a false name. Although they had shared a room, adultery had not taken place as the room was 'a double bedded one.'<sup>37</sup> The committee were not satisfied with his explanation and refused to grant him a certificate, referring the case for further consideration. In February 1883 Norval again appeared before the Session, having been given copies of his earlier statements. This time he

confessed the sin of adultery on the occasion referred to[---] accompanying the confession with an expression of penitence for the offence and also for having hitherto denied the charge.<sup>38</sup>

It was agreed that Dr. Whyte should rebuke him in the name of the Session and thereafter deal with him privately. On evidence of satisfactory conduct being obtained from Grangemouth, disjunction certificates for both Mr. and Mrs. Norval were granted. (Although not stated, as the innocent party his wife must have stood by him in an age when divorce was not easily obtainable and carried considerable social stigma.) This case suggests that, in view of their doubts as to Norval's initial statements, ministers and kirk sessions were more perceptive than the law in

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<sup>37</sup> *ibid.* Minute 11 July 1882, p. 737

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.* Minute 8 February 1883, p. 742



determining guilt, or perhaps they knew their man, even in a large congregation like St. George's with over a thousand members.

Finally in Free St. George's, we will examine the case of Jessie Conquergood who, on 5 June 1894, had been convicted of theft in the Sheriff Court and sentenced to three months imprisonment. Dr. Whyte reported to the Session that he had received details of the case and had dealt with the matter privately. Because of her imprisonment, however, Jessie was suspended from membership but arrangements were made to visit her. The district elder and Moderator continued oversight after her release, an interim report being given to the Session in January 1895. In March, as he was unable to attend the meeting, the district elder, Mr. Ferrier, wrote,

expressing the hope that under all the circumstances the Kirk Session may see its way to remove her suspension from church privileges and stating that he would endeavour to bring influences of a helpful kind to bear upon her.<sup>39</sup>

This was agreed, the Session 'with confidence' leaving the future conduct of her case in the hands of the minister and district elder. The time taken to restore Jessie to church membership suggests that her experience must have been quite traumatic, but her case was handled sensitively and with continuing pastoral care.

Disciplinary cases also occurred in independent, dissenting churches, where admission to and exclusion from membership is determined by the church as a whole and cases are brought before a meeting of members for decision. We shall now consider the practice in two such churches, Argyle Square Chapel (later Augustine Congregational Church) and Charlotte Baptist Chapel.

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<sup>39</sup> CH3/965/3 Minutes 1888-1907, Minute 20 March 1895, p.1017 (No further information on Jessie is recorded.)

## 6.4 Argyle Square/ Augustine

The first disciplinary case recorded was that of James Cowan, junior, which came before the church on 19 October 1854. Two deacons had been appointed to investigate his conduct over the period of a year. The details of his misdemeanours are unspecified but, on receiving their report, the members agreed that Cowan

should be separated from us as one who has been walking disorderly & who notwithstanding the admonitions of the brethren appointed to deal with him still persisted in that course.<sup>40</sup>

On 5 April 1855 Helen McCallum was ‘cut off’ from the fellowship for fornication.

The minutes record baldly:

The pastor stated that the circumstances were so notorious that he did not consider it necessary to appoint brethren to examine into the case.<sup>41</sup>

A similar case occurred in November 1862 when members were informed that Barbara Duncan ‘had been guilty of conduct inconsistent with her Christian profession’.<sup>42</sup> Following the usual practice, two deacons were appointed to make enquiries and report to the members. At the next meeting, on 25 December (then a normal working day in Scotland) Dr. Alexander himself reported that he had written to Barbara and had received a reply

in which she made certain explanations [---] but did not deny the sin of fornication (the facts of the case being indeed too notorious to admit of denial).

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<sup>40</sup> CH14/14/1 Congregational Minute Book 1853-1878, Minute 19 October 1854, p. 22

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.* Minute 5 April 1855, p.28

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.* Minute 6 November 1862, p.216

He adds that 'it was plainly the duty of the church to exclude her' and the members agreed, with no objection to this action being raised.<sup>43</sup> There are no further references to these disciplined members so presumably they had severed their connection with the church completely.

Restoration was possible, however. On 16 June 1859 the case of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Lindsay was reported on. The two deacons advised the members of 'the penitence exhibited by these persons for the conduct which had led to their withdrawal from fellowship' and it was agreed that Mr. and Mrs. Lindsay should be readmitted as members 'after they had received the usual public admonition for their conduct'.<sup>44</sup>

Another case involved marital difficulties. At a meeting on 25 August 1859, the pastor stated that Mrs. R.G. Stewart had left her husband and refused to return to him, alleging that 'she had sufficient cause for such a step'.<sup>45</sup> Two deacons were appointed to enquire into the case and they reported to a church meeting on 9 February 1860. This delay suggests that their investigation of the circumstances must have been thorough as four members' meetings had been held in the intervening period. As a result of the report, Mr. Stewart 'was separated from the fellowship of the church'.<sup>46</sup> The minute simply records the members' decision. No details of Mr. Stewart's offence are given, in contrast to the prevailing practice in the Presbyterian churches at this time. Mrs. Stewart is not mentioned in the minute of 9 February so

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<sup>43</sup> *ibid.* Minute 25 December 1862, pp.218-219

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.* Minute 16 June 1859, pp. 140-141

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.* Minute 25 August 1859, p.145

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.* Minute 9 February 1860, p.159

we may assume that the deacons' report confirmed her innocence and she was allowed to remain a member of the congregation.

In April 1855 two deacons of Argyle Square Chapel were appointed by the members to investigate the case of Mr. Ford who had become bankrupt. Reporting on the case a few weeks later, they 'considered his moral character remained untouched'. Accordingly, the congregation decided that Mr. Ford should remain in membership.<sup>47</sup> A more serious situation faced this church a few years later, however. At a congregational meeting on 4 April 1861, the minister, Lindsay Alexander, read a letter from James Rogers

resigning his office as a deacon on account of his having become bankrupt and requesting the church to examine into the circumstances of the case so far as his moral character as a member and office bearer of this church were (*sic*) affected thereby.

As three other members were in similar circumstances, six 'brethren' were appointed as a committee to investigate all the cases and it was agreed that Rogers' resignation should not be accepted, pending their report.<sup>48</sup> The report, submitted to a members' meeting on 25 July 1861, 'exonerated them from all moral blame in the matter' but recommended that Rogers' resignation as a deacon should be accepted. The committee were thanked for the 'trouble they had taken in the investigation' and the minister was asked to inform the four members of the decision and of the church's sympathy with them under the circumstances.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *ibid.* Minutes 5 April and 21 June 1855, pp. 28 and 31

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.* Minute 4 April 1861, pp.182-3

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.* Minute 25 July 1861, pp.191-2

Two further bankruptcies, Mr. Reddie and Mr. John Lewis, were notified in July 1862 and the usual enquiries initiated. Lewis's case was reported at a members' meeting on 22 January 1863, when it was stated that

the committee could not but regard Mr. Lewis's failure as having been brought about mainly by error of judgement (induced they believed by family affliction) but they had met with nothing in connection with the case involving moral blame or injuriously affecting his Christian character.<sup>50</sup>

In the interim Lewis and his family had emigrated to New Zealand. Dr. Alexander stated that, in view of the report, he would forward 'the usual letter of dismissal to him'.<sup>51</sup> This letter, confirming his good standing, would be required if Lewis wished to join a church in his new home.

Reddie's case, however, was not so straightforward. At a meeting on 19 February 1863, the pastor notified members that he had received a report on the circumstances of his bankruptcy some time previously but

rumours of other matters unfavourably affecting Mr Reddie's Christian character had reached him, into which he thought it necessary to enquire.<sup>52</sup>

In the meantime Dr. Alexander had received a letter from Reddie resigning his membership of the church. Stating that members under discipline could not avoid the consequences of their actions by resigning, the pastor considered that the report on Reddie 'though unfavourable, was not sufficiently so to justify excommunication'. Accordingly he considered that

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<sup>50</sup> *ibid.* Minute 22 January 1863, p.221

<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.* Minute 19 February 1863, p.223

the end of the enquiry would be answered by the church formally declaring that Mr Reddie was no longer a member of the church.<sup>53</sup>

After some discussion this was agreed.

The church was asked to enquire into the case of George C. Stewart on 4 August 1864. The two deacons appointed to interview him brought the following proposal to that meeting for decision at the next.

That the present practice of dealing publicly with every case of insolvency be discontinued, and in future only such be brought forward as are considered cases for church discipline. That it be left to the Pastor and the Deacon of the district in which the insolvent resides to make enquiry into every case as they consider necessary.<sup>54</sup>

This submission was discussed on 10 November 1864 and ‘its adoption being proposed to the church, was agreed to nemine contradicente.’<sup>55</sup> Such a decision is unsurprising in a church where a high proportion of members had their own businesses, such as shops or small manufacturing, which would be vulnerable in a period of recession.

Of greater concern to Dr. Alexander, however, was the carelessness of members in attendance at the weekly observance of the Lord’s Supper and the level of their contributions for the support of the poor of the church, which was not in proportion to the increase in members nor the wealth of the congregation. This collection was taken after the ordinance was dispensed so the two matters were linked. In ‘an affectionate and impressive address’ the pastor brought these matters to a church meeting on 9 January 1868 and sought the advice of the members present

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<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.* Minute 4 August 1864, p.241

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.* Minute 10 November 1864, p.243 (underlining as in original)

on what course of action he should take. A ‘somewhat lengthened conference’ was held with those who supported him

calling upon all present to suffer the word of exhortation and to endeavour to do individually whatever lay in their power to strengthen his hands so that the evils referred to might be remedied.<sup>56</sup>

Following the discussion, it was resolved unanimously

That it be understood that any member of the church absenting himself or herself from the ordinances for a space of three months shall be considered as thereby rendered liable to the discipline of the church.<sup>57</sup>

This illustrates the relationship between pastor and people in a church with a congregational form of government. Church discipline was the responsibility of all the members, not only the office-bearers. Dr. Alexander brought his concerns into the open so that the guilty parties were not singled out, showing his concern for the health of the church as a whole. Although the minutes are silent as to whether attendance at communion and giving for the poor improved, the fact that none were disciplined for failures in this regard suggests that the rebuke was successful. The remaining cases of discipline had other factors.

At the same meeting, Robert Pringle of 20 Simon Square was

cut off from the fellowship for the sin of Drunkenness, his conduct for some time past having become a public scandal in the neighbourhood of his residence.

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<sup>56</sup> *ibid.* Minute 9 January 1868, p.293

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*

Although he had been counselled by two deacons and the pastor over a long period, he had shown no improvement. As ‘the circumstances were so well known’, it was unnecessary to follow the usual enquiries and report on his case to a later meeting.<sup>58</sup>

Habitual intemperance was also the issue when the two appointed deacons reported at the meeting on 15 July 1874 the result of their investigations regarding Mrs. Purdie of Greenside Lane. Her behaviour ‘rendered her amenable to the discipline of the church’, although she had resigned her membership. In accordance with an earlier decision, the pastor pointed out that by so doing she could not evade this discipline. Accordingly it was proposed and agreed that her name be ‘struck from the roll of members’.<sup>59</sup> Unusually, the addresses of these two members are given. Both were in poor areas of the city so environment and their economic situation may have been a contributory factor in the situation.

These were the last cases dealt with under the ministry of Dr. Alexander, who resigned his pastorate at the end of 1877 on his appointment as principal of the Congregational Theological Hall. The next Minute Book, covering the period 14 July 1878 to 6 December 1905, contains no record of disciplinary cases. This confirms that individuals were dealt with privately, although, unlike Presbyterian churches of an earlier period, it was never the practice that sinning members were reprimanded before the whole congregation.

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<sup>58</sup> *ibid.* pp.293-4

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.* Minute 15 July 1874, p.371



## 6.5 Charlotte Chapel

With its congregational form of government, at Charlotte Chapel admission to and exclusion from membership, including church discipline, is determined by the Church as a whole. At this church, records of deacons' and elders' meetings were not kept until 1877, when Owen Campbell became pastor. Members' meetings were not minuted until 1893. Before then, details of disciplinary cases, as with William May's bankruptcy described at the beginning of the chapter, were simply noted in the members' register. The register records few cases. Christina Rollo was 'excluded' on 3 February 1857, having been baptised and received into membership five years earlier. Her fault was 'marrying a young man who was not thought to be a decided Christian'.<sup>60</sup> This suggests that prospective marriage partners were expected to share the same evangelical faith, based on 2 Corinthians 6.14 Do not be unequally yoked with unbelievers. A similar case was that of Grace Watson or Cuthbertson who was excluded on 4 September 1853,

Having violated the Law of Christ & the Practice of the Church by marrying (after reasonable warning of the consequences) into the world.<sup>61</sup>

Unlike the earlier case, Mrs. Cuthbertson was restored to membership in 1868 'on confession'. Nothing is recorded regarding her husband.

Mr. and Mrs. McArthur were excluded on 12 November 1871, for 'impudent conduct' on his part and 'drink' on hers. The prayer is noted, 'O Lord restore them!' but nothing further is known about this couple. In March 1875 Jane Mitchell was

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<sup>60</sup> Note in Church Register

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*

excluded 'for improper conduct of which she remained impenitent'. No details of her offence are stated. As her address is given 'At Mrs. Moffat's 10 Albyn Place' we may assume that Jane was a servant. This may have been part of the problem, although Mrs. Moffat was not a member of Charlotte Chapel.

The first disciplinary cases recorded in the minute books both came to the attention of members on 25 June 1893. After the communion service, which at that time was for members of the church only, 'the Pastor proposed the erasure of two names from the roll of membership'. Mr. Lunt had been received as a member on transfer from Stockport in March 1892. He served as secretary of the Charlotte Chapel Sunday School and had 'misappropriated' £6 from its funds. As he 'showed no sign of true repentance' his name was 'erased'. The other, Miss Agnes Henderson, a domestic servant, had joined the church following her baptism in January 1891. She had been proven guilty of theft from her mistress. As she had acted dishonestly in earlier employment and had not repented from her actions 'the church reluctantly erased her name'.<sup>62</sup> Because these members showed no remorse for their crimes the church had no option but to expel them from the fellowship.

There is only one more disciplinary case recorded, the most serious the church had to deal with. At the end of January 1896 Benjamin Macmillan was dismissed by his employers for embezzlement, the root cause of which was his addiction to gambling. In an exchange of letters with Andrew Urquhart, the church secretary (equivalent to the session clerk in Presbyterian churches), Macmillan admitted the truth of the rumours which had come to Urquhart's attention, acknowledging his guilt and

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<sup>62</sup> Charlotte Chapel Church Minute Book 1891-[1896] pp. 13-14

repentance but admitting that they could do no other than excommunicate him.

(By this time he had left Edinburgh.)

At the special meeting called on 9 February 1896 to consider Macmillan's case, the letters were read as follows:-

**Letter from Andrew Urquhart, Church Secretary**<sup>63</sup>

Edinburgh January 27<sup>th</sup> 1896

Dear Mr Macmillan,

It is with a feeling of deepest pain that I take up my pen to write this letter. Before reading further you will guess to what I am about to refer & this will relieve me in some degree of the painful duty of going much into detail.

I was first informed by one of my clerks last Thursday that he had heard it stated in presence of a number of persons at a social gathering in connection with the Edinburgh Orkney Society that you had recently been dismissed by Messrs Waterston & Sons for embezzlement & that you had manipulated their books to hide it. I could not believe the report & felt sure there must be some mistake. I accordingly resolved to keep the report strictly private in the hope that it would prove to be groundless.

However, on the following day (Friday) I met one of the members of Dublin St. Church in the [tram]car. In the course of conversation he asked if I had heard the sad news about Mr Macmillan. I said that I had but did not believe it. He replied: "It is quite true for I have been informed by one of Waterston's principal men." He thus corroborated the sad facts I had learned from my clerk & made some further statement which I shall not at present pain you by repeating. My informant further added that to his knowledge the sad facts I have mentioned were being talked of. He expressed his surprise that they had not reached the ears of any of your fellow members in Charlotte Chapel.

Although the task is the most painful I ever had to perform in connection with my office as secretary of the Church, or in any other relationship, I felt I could no longer remain silent or conceal the unfortunate facts which had (without any effort on my part) been brought to my notice. I consulted Mr Dovey<sup>64</sup> who I need not say was greatly grieved at what I had to tell & we both thought that your late employer should at once be made aware of the rumours that were being circulated so that they might either admit or deny their truth.

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<sup>63</sup>The letters were copied into the Charlotte Chapel Church Minute Book 1891-[1896] pp. 25-29

<sup>64</sup> A fellow elder and church treasurer

I accordingly called for Mr John Waterston. I repeated what I had heard and asked if there was any ground for the rumours. His answer was "I am sorry to say there is too much ground for them." In course of further conversation he stated among other things that you had been dismissed, that the money embezzled amounted to a very considerable sum, that the defalcations commenced in 1894 & had continued down to your illness & had been especially large last summer. And they had been discovered by the firm in a very simple & accidental way when you were absent from business during your illness & that you had confirmed the crime with which they had charged you after your guilt had been found out. After this said interview my duty was clear. I convened a meeting of the Elders yesterday after morning service. The Pastor & Elders were greatly pained & shocked at the affecting statement I made to them & instructed me to at once communicate to you these facts I had learned & ask you for any explanation you might wish to make. I am sure the Pastor & every member of the Church will rejoice if you can satisfactorily answer the terrible charges which have been brought against you, & thus counter the heavy blow which the alleged charges, if true, would bring [dishonour ?]<sup>65</sup> not only the Church with which you have been so long connected but on the cause of Christ in general.

I am yours sincerely

A Urquhart Secretary

### **Reply received from Mr Macmillan**

28 Coltness Cottages Mossend Bellshill

29/1/96

A Urquhart Esq

Sir,

I have no explanation to offer that can answer the terrible charges contained in yours of 27<sup>th</sup>. Your conversations with my late employers are true. I am guilty & all my illness is the fruit of my terrible sin & the allseeing eye of God can alone bear me witness that any repentance & sorrow has been (since I first did wrong) such as made me wish for any thing but life. I will not try to tell you the anguish of soul that has almost bereft me of reason & though I cannot ask you to believe me as I stand condemned in your eyes, & justly so, yet do I venture to assure you, knowing that none ever sinned more, that no one either in Bible History or in my experience ever mourned their sins more than I have done & will ever keep before me. I know not what more to say. You know your duty. I have ever found you (C.C.) as a

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<sup>65</sup> Word omitted from text

church the best & noblest of God's redeemed people & whatever you do must be right. I have no reason to put to you why you should not excommunicate me, none, there is not a redeeming virtue in me. I feel the evil I have done to His cause, He knows I do. Oh how very deep my sins must go into the hearts of some. May you all be kept from sin. And now sir, I may be leaving here on Monday & if you have any further communication to make please do so before that date so that I shall receive it then.

One word more. My wife is absolutely clear of all my sins. She has not had any knowledge or been participator in any of them. Do not withdraw your sympathy from her. Oh if you can be Christlike to her I plead with you to be so & God will truly bless for it. I fear this may be good bye. I would say I will ever remember you all & may be I may meet you (some of you) do not shun me. My future life shall prove the sincerity of my repentance.

I am B Macmillan

The members then were offered two options, namely to suspend or to exclude him from membership. As the offences had taken place over a long period and Macmillan confessed only after the crime was discovered, 'amidst great silence and sorrow' members voted for his exclusion.<sup>66</sup> In seconding the motion for exclusion, the Pastor, Thomas W. Way, gave his reasons for doing so.

In all church discipline we have to consider the will of Christ. Anything we do must be done by His authority. [---] We have also to consider the Church of Christ, what would be best worthy of her dignity & best promote her honour.<sup>67</sup>

Thus the integrity of the church's witness had to be preserved, but at the same time the way was left open for restoration of the sinner. However, as is evident from the letters, this case caused considerable anguish on both sides. In his letter of 27 January, Urquhart, who was a solicitor by profession, carefully outlines how the matter came to his attention, through one of his clerks, and the steps he took to

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<sup>66</sup> Minute Book, p.31

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*

confirm the truth of the rumours by consulting Mr. John Waterston, Macmillan's employer. The men would have known each other because Edinburgh's business community was very close-knit. The letter also informs us of the church's procedure in disciplinary cases. Pastor and elders consulted together before the case came to members for decision.

In his reply of 29 January, Macmillan admits his guilt and agrees that the church has no option but to expel him. The language is exaggerated for modern taste, raising the question of his sincerity. Yet he does repent and also shows concern that his wife should not suffer for his misdeeds. One wonders what the outcome may have been had Macmillan not left Edinburgh. There is no evidence that his employers prosecuted him, perhaps because to do so would have reflected badly on them.

## **Conclusion**

This contrasting approach to church discipline reflects the respective roles of the churches in society. By disciplining their members they were ensuring that they set an example of good behaviour. Behind the Church of Scotland's concentration on sexual behaviour, however, was the fear that other misdeeds would be very difficult to prove, risking a charge of libel. Where a girl became pregnant outwith marriage the evidence was apparent. Unless the father of the child confessed, no action was taken against him. Appearing before the Session impacted more on the working classes as, it has been suggested, the 'heavily male and middle class' elders tried to

duplicate or impose their values on the congregation.<sup>68</sup> This inequity led to the gradual decline of the practice.

The problem in the Church of Scotland came to a head with the *Report of the Commission on the Religious Condition of the People* published by its General Assembly in 1895. The Report concluded that ecclesiastical discipline was ‘only now the remnant of a fact which was once powerful’ and the entire system was failing and needed revision.<sup>69</sup> Following the recommendations in this report, the Church conducted an enquiry through a questionnaire to each Kirk Session. The responses, about two-thirds of the total issued, indicated a wide divergence in practice but with ‘over 99%’ consisting of cases involving extra-marital sex.<sup>70</sup> There was also increasing disquiet that guilty men were escaping censure, as paternity was difficult to prove without the accusation or threat of libel. Another factor was that the sins for which Christ had castigated the Pharisees, such as spiritual pride or hypocrisy, remained unchallenged. Eventually an Act of the General Assembly in 1902 authorised an alternative procedure whereby cases of immoral behaviour could be dealt with privately, a procedure which Candlish at Free St. George’s had anticipated fifty years earlier. Responsibility for discipline transferred from the Session as a whole to the minister. So ‘standing before the Session’ came to an end.

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<sup>68</sup> Keith Robbins ‘Religion and Community in Scotland and Wales since 1800’, in *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present*, ed. by Sheridan Gilley and W J Sheils (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 363-80 (p.368)

<sup>69</sup> Stewart J. Brown ‘No More ‘Standing in the Session’: Gender and the end of Corporate Discipline in the Church of Scotland, c.1890-c.1930’ in *Gender and Christian Religion* ed. by R. N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History* 34 (Boydell Press 1998), pp. 447- 460 (pp. 447-8)

<sup>70</sup> *ibid.* pp. 454-5

The following chapter will focus on the relationship between the churches and Edinburgh's poor. We first consider the conditions which prevented them from attending church and then look at examples of missions or outreach among them. These were undertaken by the individual churches or undenominational agencies operating in one locality or across the city.



## **CHAPTER 7: REACHING THE UNCHURCHED**

### **Introduction**

Chapter 5 examined the membership of various churches from which it was evident that most who attended belonged to the middle and upper classes of Edinburgh's society. The poor were absent. However, in the Church of Scotland most parish churches conducted missions for evangelistic outreach in the working-class areas, where services were held in less formal settings such as halls or school buildings. Responsibility for these mission stations was given to divinity students or to recently licensed probationer ministers who served for a year or two before obtaining their own charges. Although no longer operating within parish boundaries, the earlier Presbyterian Secession churches, the Free Church and Independents followed this practice, often competing with one another in the same street, duplicating buildings and resources. In time, some of these missions became churches in their own right, although the policy varied depending on local circumstances and denominational preference. As was shown in Chapter 4, the mission was also the centre of social action.

There are several reasons for the alienation of the ordinary people from the churches. The most common excuse which they gave to enquirers was their lack of suitable clothing, but this was a superficial response. The real causes lay much deeper. Perhaps more basic was their poverty with its harsh, miserable living conditions which made it difficult to have any faith at all. The problems of daily

living absorbed all their energies. We now examine in detail some of the barriers to the participation of the poor in church membership.

## 7.1 Social Conditions

As we have noted earlier, in Chapter 2, ministers, particularly in Presbyterian churches, were drawn mainly from the middle classes. This background, and the level of education demanded of them, in many cases prevented their understanding of the problems the poor faced in their day-to-day lives. Especially in the Established Church, it has been suggested, most ministers were closely linked with the aristocracy in sympathy and background.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, they had an interest in maintaining the social distinctions, which they considered to be divinely ordained. This pervaded much of the Church's teaching in the nineteenth century, when inequalities were considered 'essential to the well-being of the social fabric'.<sup>2</sup> The existing fundamental class distinctions were therefore accepted and reinforced by popular hymns, as, for example, in the now forgotten verse of Cecil Frances Alexander's 'All things bright and beautiful':

The rich man in his castle  
The poor man at his gate  
He made them high or lowly  
And ordered their estate.<sup>3</sup>

The hymn was first published in 1848 in *Hymns for Little Children*, which by 1896

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Passive Obedience*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), p.202

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p. 59

<sup>3</sup> Quoted Curl, *Victorian Death*, p.198

had reached its sixty-ninth edition.<sup>4</sup> This indicates the popularity of such publications, so passing the concept of social inequality to the next generation. However, Ian Bradley has argued that, in the discontinued verse, Mrs. Alexander was teaching that God's 'grace is equally available to all whatever condition they find themselves in' and, to support his argument, he quotes a verse from one of her earlier hymns:

The poor man in his straw-roofed cottage,  
The rich man in his lordly hall,  
The old man's voice, the child's first whisper,  
He listens, and He answers all.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, Bradley concedes that, in another hymn, Mrs. Alexander comes 'much closer to preaching submissiveness and consecrating the *status quo*'<sup>6</sup> This is particularly evident in the third of four verses of 'Day by day the little daisy':

God has given each his station:  
Some have riches and high place,  
Some have lowly homes and labour;  
All may have His precious grace.<sup>7</sup>

Like many Victorian hymn writers, Mrs. Alexander was the wife of a clergyman. Her husband was a priest, and later a bishop, in the Church of Ireland. They were therefore firmly of the establishment, so would have absorbed the prevailing views of social status, even if unconsciously.

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<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* Note 7:15 p. 279

<sup>5</sup> Ian Bradley, *Abide With Me: The World of Victorian Hymns*, (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1997), p. 123

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* (Italics as in original)

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* p.124

As discussed in Chapter 4, ministers like Thomas Guthrie and James Begg broke down the social barriers and focussed their attention on the poor. Particularly demeaning, however, was the way in which the wealthier churchgoers, in contrast to these pastors, often viewed the poor as objects of charity on which they could exercise their philanthropy. As we shall see, some of this patronising attitude is evident in how they dealt with those they considered to be ‘the lower orders’. For the ordinary working man respectability was equated with financial independence to enable him to avoid such charitable approaches.

## **7.2 Church Office-bearers**

Especially in Edinburgh, the medical and legal professions, with to a lesser extent successful business men, dominated the Presbyterian eldership. That office then became a badge of social success for many. The timing of kirk session meetings, often on a Monday afternoon, prohibited the working man from participating. Professional and self-employed men were responsible for their own hours of work and could arrange these to fit in with their duties as elders. Many had private incomes. The eldership also cost in time for district visiting, and in expenditure on appropriate clothing, especially for the communion services. This was a luxury the poor could not afford. Independent churches, too, obtained most of their office-bearers among their wealthier members. Indeed, if one such left the church or died, it could face severe financial problems. Control of the church was in the hands of those who contributed most.

The wealth of their members was particularly important in the post-Disruption Free Church, faced with a massive building programme as it sought to maintain

parity with the Established Church. It has been suggested that the artisans in the Free Church 'began to find themselves increasingly in the cold' and returned to the Church of Scotland.<sup>8</sup> That Church 'placed lighter financial demands' on its members, so enabling more of the urban poor to remain members.<sup>9</sup> Voluntary donations formed only part of the equation, however. Much more of a problem was seat, or pew, renting, which contributed to the absence of the poor from formal worship.

### **7.3 Pew Renting**

Renting came into operation with the introduction of fixed pews into burgh churches in the late eighteenth century. The practice became almost universal, especially in the Victorian age, when church building increased as the various denominations tried to cater for the growing population of the cities. In the Established Church the rents were set by the town councils who were responsible for erecting burgh churches, maintaining the buildings, and paying the ministers' stipends. Seat rents provided the revenue from which they recouped their expenditure. With the population growth, especially in the cities, the councils could not keep pace with the need for new churches. As a result, rents in the existing buildings became more expensive to meet the demand from middle-class worshippers. In theory, the level of rents was determined to allow access for all social classes, but this was not always the case. Pew rents thus became a disincentive to the poorer members of the community, who were excluded from these

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<sup>8</sup> Smout, *Scottish People*, p.189

<sup>9</sup> P. L. M. Hillis, 'The Sociology of the Disruption' in *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption* ed. by Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), pp. 44-62 (p.57)

congregations since they could not afford the new rent.<sup>10</sup> However, the extent to which pew renting inhibited the working classes varied from place to place and in different denominations.

The experience of St. Stephen's, as already noted, the first church erected for the northern New Town, shows how the system operated in Edinburgh. Shortly before the church opened in 1829, the minister of the second charge in the Tolbooth Church, Dr. Campbell, died. Tolbooth was then 'uncollegiated' (reduced to one charge) with the consent of the Presbytery, thus transferring the saved stipend to St. Stephen's.<sup>11</sup> Although this was a new church, the total number of Church of Scotland ministers in the city remained the same for a rapidly increasing population. Through time, this put pressure on seat rents as people competed for places, especially in the more fashionable churches. Pews were then subject to market forces. The Town Council initially set St. Stephen's rents at £1,841 3/- in total, which was very high for the period. One tenth of the sittings were 'free for the poor' while pews were also provided for the elders and the minister.<sup>12</sup> This suggests that the latter pews were free also, but the elders of St. Stephen's could well afford to pay for the privilege, a situation which the poor would find unfair, were they aware of it.

In April 1855 the Committee of the Town Council upon Application for Reducing Seat Rents in the City Churches visited the church and met 'as many of the

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<sup>10</sup> Callum G. Brown, 'The Costs of Pew-renting: Church Management, Church-going and Social Class in Nineteenth Century Glasgow' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38 No.3 (1987) 347-361 (p.352)

<sup>11</sup> Sands, *St. Stephen's*, p.12

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.* p.10

Session as could attend.’<sup>13</sup> By November, the church had received the Committee’s report and a special Session meeting was called to discuss its implications. The magistrates wished to place a number of unlet seats in the control of the Session at a low rate to accommodate those parishioners who could not afford the high rates these pews attracted. The result was ‘grievous complaints’ from the members who formerly occupied these seats, as they wished to retain them. Accordingly, the Session resolved that

a firm but respectful representation should be made to the Magistrates, pointing out the injurious consequences [---] both to the Revenue from the Church and the interests of the Congregation.<sup>14</sup>

This reaction suggests that some members of St. Stephen’s, one of the wealthiest churches in the country, were not happy at being displaced by those whom they considered their social inferiors. Perhaps the loss of revenue cited in the Session’s resolution had more to do with loss of status among the disaffected members. A compromise was reached as fewer pews were allocated, the new rent being a shilling per sitting.<sup>15</sup> Despite this compromise, as was evident from the membership analysis of St. Stephen’s discussed in Chapter 5, very few from Stockbridge, the poor area of the parish, became members. (See Table 5:5 p. 237 and Appendix 1 pp.1-27.)

In 1860 the control of seat letting passed to the individual churches on condition that one tenth of the seats in each church should be free.<sup>16</sup> However, these seats were generally in the more obscure areas of the church, such as the back rows of the

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<sup>13</sup> CH2/607/1 St. Stephen’s Kirk Session Minutes 1829-1861, Minute 2 April 1855 p.314

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.* Minute 22 November 1855, pp.323-4

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.* Minute 4 February 1856, p.328

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.* Minute 5 November 1860, p. 398

gallery or in awkward corners behind pillars. The occupants of the seats would not be seen by the majority of the congregation, nor, of course, would they be able to participate fully in the worship. In these conditions it is little wonder that the free places were not taken up. So in the more fashionable churches of nineteenth-century Edinburgh social distinctions were maintained. In effect, the poor were discouraged from attendance. As has been said, pew-renting 'became the religious arbiter for acceptance into 'respectable' society'.<sup>17</sup>

The other denominations followed the system of seat renting, although, of course retaining the sums raised themselves. Different churches provided a proportion of free places, but the numbers varied. Only in small, independent denominations was seating totally free. These were the Primitive Methodists, the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Glassites or Sandemanians and, with one exception, the Baptists.

Uniquely for Baptist churches, Charlotte Chapel levied seat rents to cover the cost of 'what is regarded to be the rent of the church'.<sup>18</sup> So said Christopher Anderson, founding pastor, in his evidence to the 1836 Parliamentary Commission investigating religious worship and instruction in Scotland. Anderson added that while there were different rates for different parts of the building, payment was not compulsory but voluntary. Of the 750 seats in the Chapel, only 150 were paid for. There was another unusual element. Those who paid for a pew had to leave one space free for a stranger who might come into the church. The voluntary nature of the payment was stressed when the rents were due for renewal. All who wished to

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<sup>17</sup> Callum G. Brown, 'The Costs of Pew-renting', p.361

<sup>18</sup> Balfour, *Revival*, p.35



attend were welcome.<sup>19</sup> An example of prices per half year charged for the various sections is given for the year 1880.<sup>20</sup>

<b>Downstairs</b>		<b>Gallery</b>	
back seats	10/-	front	7/-
area	8/-	remainder	5/-
side	6/-		

Charlotte Chapel abolished seat rental early in the twentieth century. In the Church of Scotland pew renting continued but gradually disappeared in the 1950s.

With that background, let us consider examples of missionary outreach, beginning with the Edinburgh City Mission, an undenominational organisation with a city-wide remit, which acted as a catalyst for local initiatives. Then we examine two individual church missions, Free St. George's at Fountainbridge and Broughton Place United Presbyterian in the Canongate. Finally, we look at the daily work of Carrubber's Close, also an undenominational mission but operating in one locality.

## **7.4 Edinburgh City Mission**

As indicated in chapter 5, the 1851 census of church attendance showed that available places were sufficient for only half of Edinburgh's population. How was this gap to be filled? It was recognised that in the poorer areas of the city, many were ignorant of the gospel or had nothing to do with religious observance. A new kind of

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<sup>19</sup> *ibid.* pp. 35-6

<sup>20</sup> Table compiled from information *ibid.* p.74

organisation was necessary to provide a base for evangelism among the poor, who, even with the individual denominational missions, were not always reached. This pioneer organisation was the Edinburgh City Mission.

The Mission was founded by David Nasmyth, who had started the first such city mission in Glasgow on 1 January 1826 and who was responsible for similar initiatives in other cities, including some in America. On 1 March 1832, at a shop belonging to Messrs. Young and Miller, 375 High Street, eight men met Nasmyth to discuss forming a similar Mission in Edinburgh with the purpose

to carry the Gospel, irrespective of denominational distinctions, to the homes of the people, and especially to endeavour to reach and rescue the multitudes who were living outside of all Church connection, in a state of practical heathenism.<sup>21</sup>

As a result, a Mission modelled on Nasmyth's earlier work was agreed, with operations commencing in May 1832. One of the partners in the business, James Young, served on the board until of the Mission until his death in July 1873.

To facilitate the work of the Mission, Edinburgh was divided into thirty districts, although staffing them was possible only gradually. When the first report was published in 1834 'seven of the most necessitous portions of the city' were occupied.<sup>22</sup> All the missionaries, or agents, were laymen, without formal theological qualifications, so bringing them closer to the people they visited. However, their education was not neglected. In 1852, James Douglas of Cavers, a Borders laird and Christian philanthropist, gifted over three hundred 'carefully selected volumes' to be

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<sup>21</sup> Edinburgh City Mission Report for 1895, p.10 (The records are held in the ECM Headquarters in Edinburgh.)

<sup>22</sup> ECM First Report 1834, p.3

used as an 'itinerating library' and a further eighty-two volumes 'towards forming a Consulting Theological Library' for their use, with an additional donation from the "Association for Opposing Prevalent Errors".<sup>23</sup> For further study, the agents also had access to the United Presbyterian and Free Church Divinity Halls and to the Congregational Theological Academy.<sup>24</sup> Much was expected of these men.

The agent's duty is clearly stated in the first of his instructions, which were printed in the reports.

Your business is to visit the inhabitants of the district assigned to you, for the purpose of bringing them to an acquaintance with salvation through the Lord Jesus Christ, and of doing them good by every means in your power. <sup>25</sup>

As well as house-to-house visiting, on which he had to spend four and a half hours each day, he was required to hold at least three prayer meetings weekly.<sup>26</sup> To live in his district, therefore, was a necessity, but also enabled the missionary to share the lives of those to whom he ministered. Oversight of the agents was the responsibility of an unsalaried superintendent, often a leading elder of his church or otherwise experienced, who was 'to exercise a Christian watchfulness'.<sup>27</sup> This involved counselling, encouraging and advising the agent and generally supporting him. The district superintendent was responsible to the salaried general superintendent, a post later combined with that of secretary, who led the Mission.

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<sup>23</sup> Twelfth Report 1853, p. 28

<sup>24</sup> Thirteenth Report 1854-1855, p. 14

<sup>25</sup> Second Report 1834-1835, p.3

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.* p.4

<sup>27</sup> Eleventh Report 1851-1852, p.4

Each agent kept a daily journal, to be given weekly to his superintendent. The journal recorded details of his visits, including such aspects as how he was received, the attitude of the people to religion, church going, intemperance, Sabbath Schools, and visits to the sick and dying. Extracts from these journals form the basis of the annual reports, compiled under the following headings: Depravity and wretchedness; Drunkenness; Infidelity;<sup>28</sup> Visits to the Sick and Dying; Meetings; Cases of Hopeful Impression and Conversion.<sup>29</sup> Because of these required headings, it is possible that the superintendents exercised some editorial control over the compilation of the reports, which were presented at the annual meetings for the supporters of the Mission. While the reports are thus made formulaic to some extent, they give a picture of conditions which shocked the respectable church-going citizens. Many in the more prosperous areas of Edinburgh were totally unaware of how the poor lived. It was part of the Mission's responsibility to bring their conditions to public notice and force the city fathers to act.

The cosmopolitan atmosphere in parts of the city is also evident from the reports. One records the baptism of some Mormons 'by Orson Pratt in Duddingston Loch'.<sup>30</sup> This must be among the earliest references to Mormons in Edinburgh, suggesting that sect's missionary activity from the United States. However, the numbers of converts could not have been great. Other inhabitants, though often temporary, with whom the City Mission staff came into contact, included street musicians, professional cripples, card-sharpers, and ticket-of-leave men (prisoners

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<sup>28</sup> This was defined as lack of belief or loss of faith.

<sup>29</sup> Headings taken from the Eleventh Report covering 1851 and 1852.

<sup>30</sup> Sixteenth Report for 1858, p.23 (Sheet 36 of the 1853 Ordnance Survey Map for Edinburgh shows a 'Latter Day Saints Chapel' in Richmond Court next to the Jewish Synagogue.)

released early on licence). Those who had completed their sentences were also added to the mix. While some considered that they had had too much religion ‘crammed into them’ in prison, a few took the opportunity to read the Bible for the first time. Thus we encounter some of the complexities of life which the City Missionary dealt with in his daily rounds.

#### **7.4.1 Management of the Mission**

In the early years a Committee of Management was responsible for the business of the Mission. The first Committee consisted of a treasurer, two secretaries and seven members. One of the secretaries, Charles Spence, was a lawyer and the other, Robert Miller, was a full-time employee of the Mission in their headquarters at 375 High Street. The remaining members included Edward Sawers, a banker, but the other occupations are not stated. However, they would have been men of repute in the community.

As the work expanded, the management committee was replaced by a board of directors. In addition, from 1886, extra-ordinary directors were appointed with the responsibility to

form a guarantee to the public of the evangelical and unsectarian character of the principles and methods of the Mission.<sup>31</sup>

More directly in the work of the Mission, they acted as special superintendents or advisors to the district missionaries. The first group of nineteen included Sir William Muir, Principal of Edinburgh University, several ministers and business men. This indicates the high regard in which Edinburgh City Mission was held.

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<sup>31</sup> Forty-fourth Report for 1886, Amended Constitution paragraph III

Aristocrats, too, found a place as City Mission directors. Among these was Edmund Archibald Stuart Gray of Gray and Kinfauns, who was ordained an elder of Free St. George's in December 1878. He became a director of the Mission in 1879 and from the following year until 1897 supervised two districts in the west end of Edinburgh near his homes at 19 Manor Place and, latterly, 14 Atholl Crescent, both a few minutes walk from Free St. George's. In 1898 he served as chairman of the Edinburgh City Mission board, an office which was held for one year. This much respected Edinburgh citizen became the fifteenth Earl of Moray in 1895, on the death of his uncle. Such an inheritance was perhaps for him a remote possibility, as the following genealogical details show.

The first Earl was James Stewart, born 1531, illegitimate son of James V and Margaret Erskine, daughter of the Earl of Mar. He was therefore a half-brother to Mary, Queen of Scots, and, at her request, acted as regent for her infant son, James VI, when she abdicated in 1567. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Moray earldom was beset by inheritance problems, as its holders died either unmarried or without surviving sons. Brother followed brother in rapid succession. Great-grandson of the ninth Earl and nephew of the fourteenth, Gray of Kinfauns, born 5 November 1840, was the fourth son of the Rev. Edmund Luttrell Stuart, rector of Winterbourne Houghton in Dorset. His mother was the daughter of the Rev. J. L. Jackson, rector of Swanage, and he himself married Anna Mary, the daughter of the Rev. George Collinson, vicar of St. James Clapham.<sup>32</sup> As there were no children of this marriage,

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<sup>32</sup> 'Stewart, Earl of Moray' in *The Scots Peerage*, ed. Sir James Balfour Paul, Lord Lyon King of Arms, 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1909), VI pp. 313-330

the fifteenth Earl was succeeded by his brother, Francis James, who had married the daughter of the Rev. Francis Smith, rector of Tarrant Rushton, Dorset.

How did Edmund Archibald Stuart Gray, who by birth and upbringing was steeped in Anglicanism, become an elder in the Free Church of Scotland and a leading figure in Edinburgh's evangelical circles? The answer may never be found, although there is a possible clue in his uncle's character. Lord Lyon notes that George, the fourteenth Earl, died unmarried on 16 March 1895 'leaving large bequests to charitable and religious causes'.<sup>33</sup> However, in common with many Scottish aristocrats, George too was an Episcopalian, having his private chapel on his estate of Donibristle, near Aberdour in Fife.<sup>34</sup> (Here in 1592 was murdered the second Earl, son-in-law of Regent Moray and also called James Stewart, a deed made famous in the ballad, 'The bonnie Earl of Moray'.<sup>35</sup>)

The suggestion that the fifteenth Earl shared some of his uncle's Christian principles is given by his own testimony, when he received the congratulations of his fellow elders on his succession to the title. He assured them

that his own prayer and desire was to devote himself & any talent that God committed to him to the Divine honour and glory.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> *ibid.* p.329 (The additional surname, Gray, was assumed when he inherited the lands and title of Lord Gray on the death of his cousin Baroness Gray. The 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> Earls dropped that surname when they succeeded to the Earldom, reverting to Stuart.)

<sup>34</sup> Patricia Meldrum, *Conscience and Compromise: Forgotten Evangelicals of Nineteenth-century Scotland*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2006), p. 18

<sup>35</sup> Lord Lyon, *Scots Peerage*, VI, p.317

<sup>36</sup> CH/ 965/3 Minutes of Free St. George's Kirk Session 1888-1907, Minute 20 March 1895, p.1014

He died suddenly on 11 June 1901 at Doune Lodge, his Perthshire estate. The Session's obituary tribute to him records that the prayer meeting first drew him to Free St. George's. In his duties as district elder he was particularly attentive to the poor and lonely, and, as a member of the Session, had 'complete equality with the humblest of his fellow office bearers'.<sup>37</sup> The Edinburgh City Mission's notice of his death states:

He used the influence of his social position to advance the cause of Christ, and had a true sympathy with the evangelical work of the City Mission.<sup>38</sup>

Edinburgh City Mission was financed by private subscription with voluntary collectors appointed in each of the thirty districts from the beginning. This task was undertaken by the Ladies' Associations, or, more formally, the 'District Ladies' Association in aid of the Edinburgh City Mission'. The purpose was

to raise a sum adequate to the support of one or more Agents of the Edinburgh City Mission, who shall be employed in the [blank] or some other more destitute district or districts in the City.<sup>39</sup>

The ladies initially acted as treasurers of the districts for which they were responsible. (As indicated below, it would be some years before the first female missionaries were appointed.) Since the annual reports list the names and addresses of the donors and the amount they gave, the lady collectors kept careful accounts, in this respect mirroring their domestic role in overseeing the household expenditure. Some donors chose to remain anonymous, listed as 'a Friend' or 'a Lady'. Very few

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<sup>37</sup> *ibid.* Minute 24 June 1901, pp.1123-24

<sup>38</sup> ECM Fifty-ninth Report for 1901, p.10

<sup>39</sup> Constitution of Ladies' Association, Appendix to 1834-35 Report



gentlemen are among the donors, suggesting that the collectors restricted their activities to their relatives, friends and neighbours. This would be considered appropriate behaviour for middle-class ladies of the period.

### **7.4.2 Specialist Ministries**

As well as the district missionaries, specialist ministries were soon required. In 1836 Robert Tulloch was employed to work among the Gaelic-speaking population as many of them knew little English. In 1856, the first lady district missionaries, Jessie Veitch and Fanny Lambert, were appointed and others soon joined them. Agnes Johnston was given responsibility for rescuing ‘fallen females’ in 1860, while Elfrida Northmore conducted female classes throughout the city. The purpose of these classes was to train the girls in domestic tasks like sewing, cookery and laundry so that they ‘may safely be recommended as domestic servants’.<sup>40</sup> In this way it was hoped that would avoid a life of idleness and temptation.

In 1861 a missionary to the Police Force was appointed. Separate weekly meetings were held for the men during the day and at night to cater for their different shifts. Average attendance was fifty. In addition the missionary visited personally each man for whom he was responsible, around three hundred in total, ‘doing what he can to foster temperate and provident habits among those to whom he is sent’.<sup>41</sup>

That same year a branch of the “Society for promoting reading amongst the Blind, on Moon’s system” was established in Edinburgh. Their classes were connected with the City Mission, although not incorporated within it. The first report on this work

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<sup>40</sup> Twentieth Report 1862, p.17

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.* p.21

indicated that the missionary visited over 300 people, 133 of whom were in the Asylum in Nicolson Street and 24 at Gayfield Square School. In addition 155 were in their own homes throughout the city. All were being taught to read Moon's system, many having already mastered it.<sup>42</sup>

One particularly important outreach was the Mission to Cabmen begun in 1850. The cabmen were considered a special responsibility as they were 'placed in circumstances not at all favourable to their highest interests.'<sup>43</sup> Their long working hours, often until midnight, limited the time they could spend with their families. The Cabmen's Mission was funded initially by a gentleman who had returned to India after some time at home. This Report therefore contains an appeal 'to the large-hearted and more wealthy of their Christian brethren' for support as the City Mission could not afford to continue the work themselves.<sup>44</sup> The appeal was successful enabling the Cabmen's Mission to continue even into the age of the motor car (or taxicab).

The early success of this aspect of the Mission's work is evident from a report from District L in which over 300 cabmen lived, of whom 250 were married. Few, however, attended church or had the opportunity to do so. The agent writes:

There is, however, a marked difference among the Cabmen in their outward conduct. In former times for one to become a Cabman was the evidence of degeneration and ruin, now there are many most respectable men, both in character and qualification for their work. The Town-Council, and private parties, have given testimony to their honesty in returning the property which had been left in their cabs. Among this class souls have been saved.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *ibid.* (The Moon system was a type of printing using large embossed characters.)

<sup>43</sup> Tenth Report 1849-1850, p.58

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Thirteenth Report 1854-1855, p.19 (Location of district unspecified)

Of particular concern to the City Mission was ‘the unnecessary use of cabs on the Sabbath day’ as this prevented many cabmen, and their stablemen, from attending services themselves. Especially on the twice-yearly Communion Sabbath, almost all the cabmen in Edinburgh were working. In drawing attention to this practice, the Directors point out its effect on the men.

Not only are the class in question and their families thus bereft of the advantages and privileges of the sacred day, they are furnished with a standing occasion of complaint against the church-going community, and many of them, it is to be feared, find in this an excuse for disregarding the exhortations addressed to them and for hardening themselves in unbelief and in vice.<sup>46</sup>

However, Sunday driving was often an economic necessity which presented a dilemma for Christian cabmen, as one testified.

[A] Christian man, who has cabs of his own, told me he had suffered considerably because he would not drive on Sunday. Several times he had refused hires which would have brought him fifteen or sixteen shillings, and he had also lost customers for the same reason. He was convinced that it was wrong, and he saw that, if he yielded to the temptation once, there might be no end of it.<sup>47</sup>

The increasing discontent among the cabmen with regard to Sunday work is exemplified by the following cases. A man on one stance had been ‘importuning’ the missionary about other employment because he was ‘tired of the cabs’ as he had no Sunday rest to enjoy himself with his family. On another stance, a young lad ‘wished away from the cabs’. He had taken a lady to church one forenoon and afternoon and

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<sup>46</sup> Thirty-fourth Report 1876, p.16

<sup>47</sup> Forty-fifth Report 1887, p.15

she ‘expressed to him the hope that she was not keeping him from church!’<sup>48</sup>

Another had left cab work as he was ‘disgusted with the Sunday work’ Despite his reduced wages as a result, he had more peace of mind. The report concludes:

Next to the abounding temptations to drink, this Sabbath cab-trade is the most demoralizing (*sic*) influence brought to bear upon the cabmen, and the greatest barrier in the way of the missionary.<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps these reports reflect more of the missionary’s attitude to Sunday working than that of the cabmen.

Much of a cabman’s time was spent outdoors waiting for fares. This posed particular problems in very severe weather as, for example, the winter of 1895, when a special effort was made to provide for their needs.

[A]t several Social Gatherings hot coffee was given them in the shape of refreshment, while they were waiting for the guests outside. Kind hearted ladies have also been in the habit of supplying hot coffee at one or two of the stances. We heartily commend such kindly and considerate treatment of our Cabmen.<sup>50</sup>

But already the era of the horse-drawn cab was coming to a close. While the opening of a new Mission Hall for them at Lauriston Place is noted, there is also a report of a ‘dearth of employment’, much sickness, and death among the men.<sup>51</sup> This transition was anticipated with the appointment of William Meek as “Home Inspector” by the Edinburgh Street Tramway Company in December 1874 to work

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<sup>48</sup> Forty-first Report 1883, p.11 (Exclamation mark in original)

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Fifty-third Report 1895, p.15

<sup>51</sup> Fifty-eighth Report 1900, p.12

among the men and boys in their employment, who were ‘exposed to many temptations’. Meek was supervised by the Edinburgh City Mission.<sup>52</sup>

### **7.4.3 A City Missionary at Work**

With that general picture of Edinburgh City Mission, and a look at some specialist areas of its work, we now examine the work of a missionary as he visits the homes in the crowded lands, or tenements, of Edinburgh’s Old Town. James Porteous was responsible for parts of the Canongate, where in November 1861 a tenement had collapsed causing thirty-five deaths, with many made homeless.<sup>53</sup> In the aftermath of this tragedy, we follow Porteous in his ministry among the needy.

As we enter the narrow close and climb the offensively dark, airless, well-trodden, stone stairs, home to twenty or thirty families, Porteous warns us of what lies ahead. On the last term-day many lost their homes because they were unable to pay their rent. As a result several wretched apartments had to be tenanted by two or more families, who were taken in by their neighbours. The tenement collapse, occurring about the same time, aggravated the situation, as again survivors did what they could to assist their neighbours. Because of the general overcrowding in the district, epidemics of small-pox and other diseases were rife. “Is it any wonder,” asks Porteous, “that I am faced with a great deal of drunkenness as they try to forget their misery for a wee while?” In the light of these problems it must have been particularly galling for him to report:

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<sup>52</sup> Thirty-second Report 1874, pp.25-26 (The trams were initially horse-drawn.)

<sup>53</sup> While the names and districts of the missionaries were listed in the Annual Reports, the individual missionary’s journal entries were anonymised. The following section is based on a selection of such reports in successive years.

In the midst of a very poor district, sixteen families have just received notice to quit their humble abode, to make room for the extension of the premises of a brewery.<sup>54</sup>

So the overcrowding increases and their homes become even more wretched.

Porteous goes on to describe his district as a whole. In the 395 houses he visits, often with only one or two rooms, about 1,340 people live. Of these 570 belong to the families of working men, whose weekly incomes range from ten shillings to two pounds or two pounds ten shillings. The rest are in very humble circumstances, some having no visible means of support and 120 being single women or widows, very few of whom have more than two shillings and sixpence per week. Almost half are young people under twenty years of age, of whom 200 are over the age of thirteen. About 250 are between thirteen and five years, while nearly 200 are infants (children under five).

However, despite the squalor of his working environment, Porteous had some success. He told us that the average attendance at prayer meetings, held in one of the tenements or in a hall nearby, was forty with Sunday School attendance of thirty in the morning and fifty in the evening. This led to some conversions but also caused problems. With the improved financial circumstances brought by their changed morals, some of the new Christians moved to a better neighbourhood, where the children could be healthier, and their homes would be safer. One of the wives reported that, although paying a higher rent, they were living better because her husband was away from his old temptations.

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<sup>54</sup> Sixteenth Report 1858, p.17

Forced into action by the collapsing tenements, within a few years, workmen's houses had been erected 'on an unprecedented scale'. The report piously notes that

the spirited individuals and companies [---] will not cease from their patriotic labours until our city is no longer disgraced by dens that are positively brutal in their arrangements.<sup>55</sup>

Tenants for a block of 'forty-three excellent houses for working people' were carefully selected 'principally for their good character'. The rents were £7 to £8 as compared with £2 to £5 for the homes they had left. The new tenants 'had opportunity of drinking tea together before settling down as near neighbours'.<sup>56</sup> However, improvements meant that there were now fewer homes available for the poorest, as the report notes:

The rents of the lowest class of houses, say from £2 to £5, are still rising, the number of such houses being constantly on the decrease from public and private improvements, and perhaps there is not any form in which a wise benevolence is more needed at present than in bringing decent houses within the reach of the poor.<sup>57</sup>

The reports give no indication of the location of the new blocks of houses but, as noted in Chapter 4, new streets built in the vicinity included Jeffrey Street, curving behind John Knox's house to the southern end of North Bridge. This led to the 'disappearance' of a

large tenement of great antiquity and known as the "Happy Land" long the haunt of the most lawless characters.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Twenty-first Report 1863, p.13 (Underlining in original )

<sup>56</sup> Twenty-seventh Report 1869, p.17

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.* pp.17-18

<sup>58</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, I, p. 302

There is no record of what happened to those who were displaced or were unable to afford the higher rents for the new houses. This glaring omission suggests that the reports did not always reflect the full horror of the situation which faced the missionaries as they visited their districts.

The following stories provide a contrast in Porteous' descriptions of his work. In the first there is a humorously macabre element. He heard that some time ago, in order to avoid the payment of a debt, a woman dressed herself in grave-clothes and laid herself out as if dead. At length, the farce became a solemn reality, when she died in as godless a way as she had lived. Scarcely had she breathed her last, when her so-called friends fought over their respective shares of the paltry effects, a most unseemly situation.

The second is more encouraging, showing how a young life was improved. At the Night Asylum, a refuge for the homeless, Porteous met a poor boy, John. Despite his forlorn and friendless state, John was intelligent and well-behaved. Taking a fatherly interest, Porteous obtained a job for him in a newspaper office, where he received six shillings and sixpence per week. He also found a comfortable lodging for John with a respectable couple, at eighteen pence per week. John was doing well and was very grateful that he had the opportunity of steady employment to support himself. Porteous was sure that John would continue to make progress in the newspaper office, as he had shown already that he was prepared to work hard.

James Porteous then leaves visiting to prepare for an evening meeting. His hearers formed a close-knit community of people with poor employment prospects, a high proportion of unsupported women, and almost half the population under twenty years old. The situation was aggravated as immigrants from the country poured into



the city to seek work with the dislocation of rural economies as farms became larger and more mechanised. These incomers often lost any church connection they may have had as they adopted the lifestyle of their new neighbours. The City Mission, therefore, suggested that names and addresses or place of work should be given to them for appropriate action.

Edinburgh City Mission also had an influential social role in the community in alleviating the problems the missionaries encountered. On a personal level, concerned about the numbers of couples who lived together without marriage, they inquired as to the reason. Before a couple could marry it was necessary to ensure that they were free to do so. This was done by ‘calling the banns’, announcing their intention in the parish church on three clear Sundays beforehand. As the fees charged for this service amounted to ten shillings or more, they were beyond the means of the poor and thus an impediment to their marriage. Accordingly, the Directors ‘memorialised’ the four Kirk Sessions of the City Parish, St Cuthbert’s, Canongate, and South Leith, ‘in the interests of social morality’, for a reduction in the fees for such cases. Two Sessions replied favourably.<sup>59</sup>

A constant challenge to the Edinburgh City Mission and similar agencies was the battle against intemperance. They supported the campaign for the reduction in opening hours which led to the Public Houses’ Act (the Forbes-Mackenzie Act) of 1853. This closed the public houses on Sundays and reduced their opening hours on weekdays. As a result, immediately after the Act came into operation and for some

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<sup>59</sup> Twentieth Report 1862, p.16 (The two favourable respondents are unnamed.)

months afterwards, behaviour improved markedly, especially on Sunday mornings, with few cases of intoxication.<sup>60</sup>

The overall picture, however, did not change much. In 1875, the Mission compared the numbers engaged in Christian work with those in the 'drink trade'. Estimating the city's population at around 200,000, they calculated that about 300 persons were officially engaged 'in the work of Christian instruction' in 138 churches of all denominations. Public houses, including hotels and unlicensed premises 'known to the police', on the other hand, totalled over 1,000.<sup>61</sup> The report questioned which activity should have the greater priority, the spiritual welfare of the people or the sale of intoxicants. We must remember that brewing and distilling were then major industries in Edinburgh. At this time, however, an alternative to the public house was beginning with the growth of tea rooms and coffee shops to serve the public.

From 1873 until 1896 there was a prolonged trade depression in the city, partially eased between 1880 and 1882 but occurring again from 1887 until 1889. This caused acute unemployment and destitution. The missionaries were involved in providing food and clothing, which they saw as their primary task in the circumstances. As a result, however, in many instances the people were more receptive to the gospel, while 'enforced leisure' meant that more men were attending the meetings.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Thirteenth Report 1854-55, p. 20

<sup>61</sup> Thirty-third Report 1875, pp.12-13

<sup>62</sup> Thirty-seventh Report 1879, p.11

The work of Edinburgh City Mission continued. The agents had a similar social background to that of the people they visited, so understood their needs and could sympathise more easily with their problems. The non-sectarian and non-ecclesiastical character of the Mission was an advantage in an era of division and competition among the major denominations. They served where the people were, meeting in their homes or in simple, unpretentious halls nearby. In that way some of the unchurched were reached and lives changed.

## **7.5 Individual Church Missions**

We will now consider two contrasting missions operated by city centre churches. Free St. George's had a successful mission in nearby Fountainbridge, while the Canongate Mission, under the auspices of Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church, was less successful. This comparison between the two missions reveals the importance of good leadership in the success of the venture. Differences in denominational policy also affected the outcome.

### **7.5.1 Free St. George's**

St. George's Church of Scotland parish church had a mission in William Street, near Charlotte Square, where the church was situated. This mission passed to Free St. George's after the Disruption. In October 1846 the elders of that congregation agreed to open a preaching station in Rose Street, 'to be called the West Rose Street Chapel', for which the William Street missionary, Mr. Robertson, was also to be

responsible.<sup>63</sup> His report describes the situation which faced him.

The population of the District is from 25,000 to 30,000 souls. A considerable proportion consists of the families of respectable tradesmen in easy circumstances, while among the rest is found a large amount of destitution and wretchedness. [...] To reclaim the habitually intemperate to habits of church attendance is the great difficulty in missionary work.<sup>64</sup>

This neglect of ‘attendance on the means of grace’ was apparent as late as November 1860, when a committee from among the elders was formed to inquire into the situation and report back to the Session.<sup>65</sup> Their report gives an account of one of the earliest examples of interdenominational co-operation. Almost next door to the preaching station was Charlotte Baptist Chapel. Free St. George’s obtained the use of the Chapel in January 1861 for twice weekly meetings for prayer and scripture reading, ‘the elders of Free St. George’s being assisted by office bearers of other denominations.’<sup>66</sup> Although these minutes simply note the details quoted, and Charlotte Chapel did not begin keeping records of church meetings until 1877, the timing of St. George’s request suggests a possible connection with the religious revival, which, as we saw in Chapter 3, affected Edinburgh from 1858 to 1860. However, there is no firm evidence for this conclusion.

A more successful effort from Free St. George’s was their mission at Fountainbridge, to the southwest of Lothian Road, where the church was then situated. The main employment in the district was brewing and the manufacture of rubber goods. It was therefore an overwhelmingly working-class area. In May 1849

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<sup>63</sup>CH3/965/1 Minutes of Free St. George’s Kirk Session 1843-1865, Minutes 12 October and 9 November 1846, pp.109 and 112

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.* 9 November 1846, pp.112 and 114

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.* Minute 12 November 1860, p. 366

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.* Minute 13 January 1861, p. 373

Thomas Alexander was appointed missionary and in October of that year a committee of Free St. George's elders was formed to co-operate with him regarding those adherents who desired to become communicant members. Exceptionally, distribution of tokens to these members took place in the evenings to suit their work patterns. Initially, however, they were admitted to the sacrament at the mother church, as Alexander was not an ordained minister.

That situation changed with the appointment as missionary in July 1853 of James Hood Wilson. A young Free Church minister, licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh in 1852, but still a probationer, he had first been employed as a missionary in Irvine, Ayrshire. The appointment of Wilson enabled Robert Candlish, minister of Free St. George's, who, as was noted in Chapter 2, was one of the Disruption leaders, to seek permission from the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh to administer the sacrament at Fountainbridge, a request which was granted.<sup>67</sup> Wilson regarded Fountainbridge as 'the worst plague-spot in the city' and therefore an excellent choice in which the home mission ideal, founded by Chalmers, could be kept alive.<sup>68</sup> At that time the Mission had only twenty-six members.<sup>69</sup> However, such was Wilson's impact there that attendance grew rapidly. Then, on 5 July 1854, Candlish reported to his Kirk Session

that at last General Assembly it was agreed to sanction Fountainbridge Station as a full ministerial charge under the conditions proposed by the Deacons Court of St Georges (*sic*) and that the Presbytery of Edinburgh were now taking the usual steps for the settlement of a minister in that territorial charge.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> *ibid.* Minute 11 July 1853, p.241

<sup>68</sup> Wells, *James Hood Wilson*, p.40

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.* p.45

<sup>70</sup> CH3/965/1 Minute 5 July 1854, pp. 260-261

The ordination of James Hood Wilson to the new charge took place on 20 July 1854.<sup>71</sup> This was the first ‘daughter’ church of Free St. George’s, who still exercised some oversight. It was also their most successful.

Wilson’s life work was just beginning. He believed that, if the people did not go to church, then the church must go to them. House-to-house visitation was a priority. One of his more successful initiatives was the meeting for mothers and children, which he regarded as the shortest way to the hearts of his parishioners.<sup>72</sup> In this way the Victorian ideal of the mother as responsible for the moral and spiritual nurture of the family was upheld. Another key to his success was that he lived among his people, as church, school and manse stood side by side.

More unusual for the period was the Sunday evening service for working people, possibly modelled on those of Thomas Guthrie at St. John’s, already discussed in Chapter 4. To ensure that only the ordinary people were admitted, Wilson stationed two elders ‘in corduroys’ at the door who ‘intercepted all who were respectably dressed’.<sup>73</sup> These services were preceded by open-air preaching by some of the office-bearers who invited the listeners to the church. Such services were part of Wilson’s ministry for nine years from 1855, so overlapping with the revivals in which, as has been noted in Chapter 3, Fountainbridge Church played a significant part.

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<sup>71</sup> *ibid.* p.263

<sup>72</sup> Wells, *James Hood Wilson*, p.47

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.* p.57

By 1860 membership of Fountainbridge Church had increased to nearly twelve hundred.<sup>74</sup> As the building was overcrowded and the population of the area was still growing a new church was necessary. A Miss Barclay had left £10,000 for the erection of a Free Church in the city and the trustees of her estate agreed to give the money to Fountainbridge for a new building, which, with Wilson as its first minister, opened in December 1864 as the Barclay Free Church. Situated on a prominent corner overlooking Bruntsfield Links, it has been variously described as in the Pointed or Venetian Gothic architectural style. But a contemporary's words sum up its appearance:

full of individual beauties or prettiness in detail, yet as a whole, disorderly, inorganic, and monstrous.<sup>75</sup>

To accommodate the congregation who chose to remain at the Fountainbridge Mission, control reverted to Free St. George's, who provided elders and assistant ministers to administer the sacraments. In April 1873 St. George's Session again petitioned the Edinburgh Presbytery to allow their Mission to have its own Kirk Session. This was agreed with Alexander Whyte, Candlish's assistant and successor, as Moderator.<sup>76</sup>

St. George's seemed reluctant, too, to lose the services of James Wilson. With Dr. Candlish's appointment as Principal of New College in 1862, he had continued as minister at St. George's, engaging temporary help for part of the year. As time passed, however, a permanent colleague and prospective successor became

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<sup>74</sup> *ibid.* p.143

<sup>75</sup> Quoted in Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, III p.30

<sup>76</sup> CH3/ 965/2 Session Minutes 1865-1888, Minutes 24 April and 9 June 1873, pp.563 and 565

necessary. In February 1867 the congregation resolved to call Wilson to this task.

A 'conclusive letter' to Dr. Candlish intimated that it was his duty to remain at Barclay.<sup>77</sup> After all he had been there only a little over two years.

St. George's tried again in 1870 when the situation was more pressing because of Candlish's increasing infirmity.<sup>78</sup> The committee appointed to consider the vacancy unanimously agreed that Wilson be recommended to the church as colleague pastor and successor. Before the congregational meeting could be arranged to confirm the call, Wilson learned what was proposed. He immediately wrote to Candlish, referring to his earlier call, but stating that he still could not accept. Any move he considered would be to a 'smaller and less influential sphere than to one more important'; he felt overwhelmed with the responsibilities of his present work; and, although conscious of the high honour that the invitation would give him, 'with an eye on the peace of both congregations' he thought it right to decline.<sup>79</sup>

Wilson was to remain at Barclay until his death in 1903 at the age of seventy-four. The terms of the letter indicate that his primary focus was the congregation he served so faithfully. The success of the Fountainbridge Mission and then the Barclay Church was due to his concern for people, no matter their social background and, above all, to his devotion to Christ and His service.

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<sup>77</sup> *ibid.* Minute 13 February 1867, p.472

<sup>78</sup> He died on 19 October 1873.

<sup>79</sup> CH3/965/2 Minute 24 January 1870, Letter J.H. Wilson to Dr. Candlish, pp. 510-512



### 7.5.2. Canongate Mission

The origins of Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church as an Associate Presbytery congregation have been described in Chapter 2. The Broughton Place Home Mission in the Canongate began in 1835, when John Brown was minister. Meetings were held in a rented hall in Chalmers Close, off the north side of High Street. The Mission operated day and Sabbath schools for children and adults, a sewing school, savings bank and library, as well as holding evangelistic services.

The work of the Canongate Mission is described in the manuscript reports submitted to the church by the district missionary, William Gillespie, covering the period from his appointment in August 1855 until his resignation in January 1860.<sup>80</sup> Gillespie had been licensed and ordained as a probationer by the United Presbytery of Glasgow ‘with a view to missionary labour’.<sup>81</sup> He then served with the London Missionary Society for seven years in Hong Kong and Canton until 1850, when he returned to Scotland.<sup>82</sup> He was inducted as minister of Shiels, Belhelvie, ten miles north of Aberdeen, on 28 April 1852 and served there until he took up his appointment as the Canongate missionary.<sup>83</sup>

Gillespie’s reports indicate the extent of the work among the poor in one of the most densely populated areas of the city. The first, covering November and December 1856, states:

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<sup>80</sup> CH3/564/272 Report of Broughton Place Home Mission in the Canongate

<sup>81</sup> William McKelvie, *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church*, (Edinburgh: Oliphant and Company and Andrew Elliot 1873), p. 62

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.* p 206

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.* p. 62

Attendance at the different meetings still continues gradually to increase. Sabbath evenings considerably above 100. Numbers in different meetings together 600 weekly. Last two months together 4634.<sup>84</sup>

Gillespie ends his report with a plea for increased giving from the Broughton Place Congregation to support the Mission.

Who attended the Mission? Occasionally Gillespie describes some of his hearers. One, 'Mrs S', had an unusual occupation and her 'earnestness' is recorded as follows:

[S]he came to the chapel one of the wet Sabbath evenings lately, direct from keeping sheep in the fields which she has to do for a livelihood – came dripping wet from beyond Granton, a distance of three miles, direct to the chapel. She would not go home first to dry her feet or change her clothes, but sat in her wet clothes that she might not miss a word.<sup>85</sup>

Mostly, however, they were 'working men', their wives and families, who were too poor to attend the churches. The impression of poverty as a barrier to participation in the worship of the institutionalised church is a recurring theme in Gillespie's reports. An example is the case of Mrs. Milne, formerly a member of a city church, who

lost her connexion with it through poverty, her large and increasing family, and no clothes to go to church with such as she once had.<sup>86</sup>

A woman of excellent character, she 'counts it a privilege' to attend the chapel.<sup>87</sup>

Another case was that of 'J M' and his wife who had been members of a country church but had fallen away when they came to live in Edinburgh. Long-term

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<sup>84</sup> Broughton Place Home Mission in the Canongate Report, p.1

<sup>85</sup> Report January-March 1857, p.8

<sup>86</sup> Report October-December 1857, p.83.

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*

unemployment and sickness within the family prevented 'J M' 'from appearing decently in a place of worship'. Since Gillespie 'procured him some clothes' he attended the chapel during the winter.<sup>88</sup> These examples stress the importance of respectability to those of the working class who wished to attend church. On the other hand, for some this kind of charity was unwelcome since it indicated that the churches would not accept them as they were. They saw such attitudes as humiliating so chose not to be associated with the missions.

The Canongate Mission also provided an opportunity for self-improvement, with popular lectures attracting 'enthusiastic and delighted audiences varying from 350 to 370'.<sup>89</sup> The subjects of these lectures were rarely stated but appealed particularly to the young apprentices and working men of the area, one of whom offered to give a lecture on 'a scientific subject he had been studying'. This offer, however, required 'future consideration'.<sup>90</sup> Indeed, the Mission attracted an unusually large number of young men, as the following extract shows:

Mr Henderson, one of the Rose Street elders, who has been present several Sabbath evenings lately, has separately noticed it. My audiences there on Sabbath do not consist so largely of women as these sort of meetings are generally supposed to do, but a large number of men are generally found to be present.<sup>91</sup>

Young people, too, were involved in distributing magazines and tracts. Among these were the *Missionary Record* and the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, copies of

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<sup>88</sup> Report January-March 1859, pp. 190-191

<sup>89</sup> Report January-March 1857, p.13

<sup>90</sup> Report January- March 1858, pp.111-112

<sup>91</sup> Report January-March 1857, p.19

which were donated by the publisher.<sup>92</sup> This work of overseas mission, a great strength of the United Presbyterian Church, attracted considerable interest among those who attended Chalmers Close. They willingly supported it from their meagre resources.

While the reports give a picture of a thriving work, Gillespie also faced several problems, to such an extent that his discouragement is evident. Opposition came from Roman Catholics, especially when several, at their own request, had attended his meetings in the homes of their neighbours and in the Mission Chapel. One family, renting a room from an Irish man, had their furniture and possessions thrown out onto the street and were asked to move from the neighbourhood. Their new landlord, also an Irishman, after mocking them, 'probably informed the priest' that they attended Gillespie's meetings. Shortly afterwards he asked them to find new lodgings 'as he could not go to confession as long as he had Protestants in his house'.<sup>93</sup>

More serious was the failure to form a new United Presbyterian Church whereby the Chalmers Close adherents could be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and so become full members of that body. All they could do was witness what they could not partake of. Gillespie includes in his reports lists of those he considers ready for membership, some of whom had been waiting for several years. One case is particularly poignant and from it we sense Gillespie's frustration at the situation.

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<sup>92</sup> Report October-December 1858, p.163

<sup>93</sup> Report April-June 1857, pp. 31-32

William Russel told me more than two years ago that he wished to become a member of the church. He and his family have been most regular in their attendance at all the meetings and family worship was maintained in his house. He died last month. He afforded me much comfort in the view of his approaching decease. [---] how he had longed earnestly for the foundation of a church, had waited more than two years, and now he must die without having enjoyed the privilege of sitting down at the Lord's Table on earth – but that all his trust was in Jesus and he hoped to be allowed to sit down at the Table of the Lord in Heaven.<sup>94</sup>

Gillespie continues his report with the warning that at least twenty adherents 'are now lost to us' and others will also withdraw if their applications for full church membership are not dealt with.<sup>95</sup>

Such pleas are a recurring theme of Gillespie's remaining tenure as missionary. In his report for October to December 1858, he lists names and addresses of 'Sixty Persons who are desirous of obtaining Church ordinances' in the Mission Chapel, confirming 'that they are all bona fide applicants'.<sup>96</sup> He adds:

Many of these persons have been waiting years for the enjoyment of Church privileges. Most of them have applied to me on the subject before. And almost all of them have repeated and renewed their applications since the project of forming a church was made public by the step that was taken some months ago of going forward to the Presbytery.<sup>97</sup>

A petition to the Presbytery had been suggested, whereby the people could receive the ordinances before a church was established. The case for this was reinforced by a conversation Gillespie had had with William Whyte, a merchant in the High Street, who was a visitor for the Destitute Sick Society, which, as the name suggests, brought financial and other assistance to those unable to work because of illness.

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<sup>94</sup> Report October-December 1857, p.81

<sup>95</sup> *ibid.* pp. 94-95

<sup>96</sup> Report October-December 1858, pp.165-169 (Underlining as in original)

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.* pp.169-170

Whyte was therefore familiar with the neighbourhood, where Trinity Parish Church also operated a Mission. Whyte had been discussing his visits with the Trinity missionary, Mr. Bell, who had been employed to survey the parish. Gillespie reports his conversation with Whyte as follows:

Mr Bell stated that two things had struck him - first the large amount of misery in the houses, and secondly the large number of persons whom he found to be regular hearers and attenders of the Chapel in Chalmers Close and yet who were not members, though professing themselves willing to become such.<sup>98</sup>

Gillespie's final year as missionary in Chalmers Close was happier as it coincided with the religious revival which took place from 1859 to 1860, already discussed in Chapter 3. His annual report for 1859 recounts the 'remarkable thing' that 'upwards of a hundred and twenty persons' had applied for church membership which should provide 'a good nucleus for a promising mission church'.<sup>99</sup> This he claims to be the direct result of the 'extended series of Revival Meetings' he conducted for over a year in which he drew attention to the 'remarkable awakenings in America, Ireland and Wales'.<sup>100</sup> He concludes his final report contrasting the encouragement he had received through conversions with the

profoundly discouraged state of feeling among the people as regards their cherished hopes and wishes.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Report October-December 1858, pp. 176-177

<sup>99</sup> Annual Report 1859, pp. 239-240

<sup>100</sup> *ibid* p.243

<sup>101</sup> Report to the Broughton Place Missionary Committee 31 January 1860, p.248

Ultimately, however, the situation of those from the Canongate Mission who wished to become church members was resolved. On 7 March 1860, Edinburgh Presbytery was petitioned by almost one hundred and fifty ‘persons’

to be formed into a congregation with the Rev. William Gillespie, under whose ministrations they had been gathered, as their minister. The petition stated that “207 persons had given their names as hearers and adherents, and that the society had a staff of 12 tract distributors who visited 700 families”.<sup>102</sup>

Many of the petitioners had formerly been non-church-goers. Nevertheless they promised to raise sixty pounds per annum towards the upkeep of their church, which met in a rented building. This petition was successful and the church, Mary’s Chapel in the High Street, was ‘congregated’ on 2 October 1870 with Gillespie as the first minister.<sup>103</sup> Ten years later they were able to erect their own building, Blackfriars Street United Presbyterian Church, with ‘accommodation for 500 sitters’.<sup>104</sup> From this evidence it seems that, after his resignation as the Broughton Place Missionary in January 1860, Gillespie continued to work independently with those he had shepherded so long and petitioned the Presbytery directly, rather than go through the Broughton Place Session.

In April 1861 a new missionary, John Hancock, was appointed to the Canongate Mission. His letter of appointment lists his duties, which include daily visiting of five to six hours, allowing fifteen to twenty minutes to each family. His

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<sup>102</sup> McKelvie, *Annals*, p.206

<sup>103</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *ibid.*

salary was £70 per annum and he was responsible for insuring his own life 'to the extent of at least £100'.<sup>105</sup> The reason for this requirement is not stated.

How did the change of missionary affect the Mission? A report to the Committee dated 20 July 1860, covering the period 1 February to 1 July since Gillespie's departure, states:

The attendance at the mission chapel in Chalmers Close has been diminished by the secession of a number along with our former Superintendant (*sic*) but has been sensibly rising for some time past more especially in the afternoons. The evening attendance was always smaller during spring and summer and this year a number who would otherwise have worshipped with us have been attracted to the theatre which opens at 7 o'clock.<sup>106</sup>

The reference to a 'secession' from Chalmers Close confirms that many preferred to follow Gillespie, rather than continue attending that Mission. The remainder of Hancock's report details the attempts to recruit more volunteers so that the decline, also evident in other areas of the work, might be arrested.

This summary of the Canongate Mission between 1856 and 1860 suggests that those under the control of a single church depended very much on the personality of the missionary for their success. From the limited evidence available, Gillespie appears to have been a charismatic figure, attracting many by his preaching. Yet his efforts were frustrated by the continued intransigence of the Broughton Place Session to proceed with his petition for a church in the area so that his converts could be admitted as full members of the Church and receive the sacraments. Their failure to

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<sup>105</sup> CH3/564/ 297 Miscellaneous Papers Mid-nineteenth Century, Letter G Bickersteth to Mr John Hancock 8 April 1861

<sup>106</sup> *ibid.* Report to the Committee of the Missionary Association of Broughton Place Church 20 July 1860



accept the Canongate converts as full church members contrasts with the situation at the Fountainbridge mission station of Free St. George's, noted above, where converts were admitted to the sacraments almost immediately. Their different approach to church membership raises the question of how far the middle classes were willing to accept as members of their churches those whom they considered to be socially inferior. This social division confirms the impression which many poor people had that the Church was not for them, as already discussed, so contributing to their alienation from formal religious observance.

## **7.6 Carrubber's Close Mission**

The role of Carrubber's Close in the nineteenth-century religious revivals has also been described in Chapter 3. We now consider this society more fully. Carrubber's Close was a few yards to the west of Chalmers Close so neighboured the Broughton Place Canongate Mission, with which they were in direct competition. Carrubber's, as it is still popularly known, was founded on Sunday 30 May 1858 when four men knelt within Whitefield Chapel, a former theatre, 'and consecrated themselves and the building to a great work'.<sup>107</sup> The four were led by James Gall, minister of Moray Free Church situated in South Back Canongate (now Holyrood Road) and the others were William McKay, Alexander Robertson, and John Gauld. Gall had convened the sub-committee appointed by the Edinburgh Sabbath School Teachers' Association to canvas the city to ascertain the numbers of children who neither attended any Sabbath School nor received religious instruction at home. Their investigations

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<sup>107</sup> Anon, *These Fifty Years: The Story of Carrubber's Close Mission Edinburgh 1858-1909*, (Edinburgh: The Tract and Colportage Society of Scotland 1909), p. 9

showed that at least eight thousand children throughout the city were thus neglected. Accordingly, the Association decided that Sabbath schools should be established in mission districts, entrusting the task to James Gall as one who could devote ‘careful attention and mental energy to the subject’.<sup>108</sup>

The beginning of the work was simple. After their prayer of consecration the four went out into the street and coaxed the children, whom they saw playing there, to come in. The children were invited to return in the evening with their friends and from these small beginnings the scope of the Mission gradually increased. The only qualification required of the teachers was that they should be ‘consistent members of some evangelical church’ and introduced by a member of the Mission.<sup>109</sup> The extent of the work can be determined by the names given to the society in the early years – The Experimental Pioneer Home Mission, The Experimental Sunday-School Missionary Institute, and The Society for Elevating the Working Classes. These unwieldy titles were soon shortened by the people to ‘Carrubber’s Close Mission’ which was then adopted as the official name of the society. Membership consisted of trustees, directors, and all the volunteer workers. Its purpose was not proselytising but

to provide accommodation for, and the furtherance of, evangelistic and other Christian work in the city of Edinburgh, its suburb (*sic*) and neighbourhood by gratuitous lay agency.<sup>110</sup>

It was therefore a facilitator of and centre for evangelism.

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<sup>108</sup> *ibid.* p.10

<sup>109</sup> *ibid.* p.12

<sup>110</sup> *ibid.* p.16

The undenominational character of Carrubber's is apparent from the lists of ministers who had 'their earliest experience of gospel work' there.<sup>111</sup> From the Free Church are included Horatius Bonar, John Kelman and Robert Rainy; John Cairns represents the United Presbyterians, Professor Archibald Charteris the Church of Scotland, with William Grant the Scotch Baptists. Lay members and directors also included a cross-section of Edinburgh society from the earls of Cavin and Kintore to the Member of Parliament Duncan McLaren, Lord Provost F. Brown Douglas, two distinguished medical men, Professors James Young Simpson and T. Grainger Stewart, and Captain Christie, Governor of Edinburgh Prison.<sup>112</sup> Some wives also played a prominent part but these were unnamed.

Alexander R. Simpson, nephew and successor as professor of midwifery to James Young Simpson, was president and general superintendent of Carrubbers from 1895, after James Gall died. In 1909, the jubilee year, he recalls his first attempt at an evangelistic address in 1862, using this story as an illustration of the action of faith.

My uncle sent me down this afternoon to visit a patient at Trinity. Getting into a cab, I took a book with me to read for the driver knew where he was to take me, and I could trust him to bring me to the house. He pulled up once on the way; it was at the Goldenacre Toll. When I looked up and saw the tollkeeper at the window, I simply nodded and told him it was Professor Simpson's cab. My uncle had a running account with him, and I had nothing to pay.<sup>113</sup>

A lady, who had heard Simpson's address, repeated the story next day to Sir David Brewster, Principal of Edinburgh University. Brewster had doubted his

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<sup>111</sup> *ibid.* p.52

<sup>112</sup> *ibid.* pp. 57-58

<sup>113</sup> *ibid.* pp. 78-79

Christian faith and this ‘simple illustration of faith and substitution’ touched him deeply. He then ‘got from the perplexity that is in theology to the simplicity that is in Christ’. <sup>114</sup> Directors and trustees were thus expected to play an active part in the spiritual work of the mission as well as maintain its finances.

After the Sunday School was firmly established, the next step was the formation of the Excelsior Association for young men to encourage them in study and ‘self-elevation’ or, in modern parlance, upward social mobility. They were required to be of good character, to abstain from alcohol and tobacco, and to open a savings account. Fifty came to the first meeting and numbers soon increased to over a hundred. First, however, many required basic education in reading, writing, grammar and arithmetic. Subjects studied included literature, science, social economics, and music, both instrumental and vocal. Examinations were set with prizes and diplomas for the best students.

For girls similar classes were available, where the subjects offered included sewing, knitting, homemaking and mother-craft, as well as the basic school subjects. In this way the division of male and female ‘spheres’ was reinforced, although it should also be noted that the mission leaders were simply conforming to the social mores of the period. Older people, to whom these classes did not appeal, were invited to a weekly evangelistic service which was later preceded by an open-air meeting, at which passers by were invited to attend the main meeting. This open-air meeting soon became more important and such work extended to various parts of the city.

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<sup>114</sup> *ibid.*

As was noted briefly in Chapter 3, a medical mission and dispensary were conducted in Carrubber's four days per week from 1858 to 1868. This was particularly important in an overcrowded area where epidemic diseases took their toll. The first medical superintendent was Dr. Coldstream who died in 1865. He was succeeded by Professor James Young Simpson, assisted by Dr. Linton and some medical students. Almost two thousand patients were treated annually. Lady workers and missionaries met and conversed with them in the waiting room. Later, if necessary, advanced students visited the patients in their homes and also prescribed medicines. Treatment and all medicines were free.

The work of Carrubber's Close Mission therefore had two strands, evangelistic and philanthropic. It was a co-operative venture with workers from various evangelical churches. In many ways it was a practical application of the gospel, meeting the educational and medical needs of the population where it was situated. The Mission attracted to its ranks of trustees and directors representatives from the aristocracy, business and the professions, united in a common purpose, as indicated above, the furtherance of evangelistic and other Christian work. Here was Victorian philanthropy in action.

While the reports of the work of these four Missions present a picture of life in the crowded tenements of the Old Town, questions remain unanswered. All emphasise the successes but very little is said about the failures. This suggests that the missionaries are framing the reports so as to show themselves in the most favourable light to their employers, who were often far above them socially. The reports would also have to appeal to their middle-class readers, who provided financial support and therefore the men's salaries, small though these were.

The Edinburgh City Missionaries and those employed by the individual churches lived among, or near, the people to whom they ministered. The Carrubber's workers, on the other hand, came from outside the area and were mainly middle class, remaining active members of their own congregations. Thus there would be a social barrier to some extent between the volunteers and the people they sought to serve.

## **7.7 Success or Failure?**

How successful were these missions in reaching the unchurched of Edinburgh? As already noted in Chapter 5, the 1851 Census of Religious Worship had revealed that available sittings covered less than half the population of Edinburgh, while the actual attendance at services represented considerably less than half Edinburgh's population.<sup>115</sup> In the same year, Edinburgh City Mission conducted their own census of church attendance in the various districts of the Old Town in which they worked. The results, which they regarded as presenting an accurate picture of the situation, showed that of 438 families in the district only 78 were church-going. The compilers estimated an average of four people per family; so from 1,752 individuals only 312 attended any place of worship. Commenting on the situation, they note that

[t]he church-going habits of a community are a sure indication of its moral and physical condition. When, in a community, religious ordinances are generally neglected, it is not to be expected that the intellectual, the moral, or the physical condition of its members will stand high.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>See extract from Table B, Mann Report, p.318 referred to in Chapter 5 p.228

<sup>116</sup>E.C.M. Report 1851-52, pp. 11-12

Ten years later, circumstances had hardly changed, despite the revival of 1859-60. The non-church-going population of Edinburgh was estimated at from 40,000 to 60,000. The former are those who have no church connection, while the higher figure includes those whose Christian profession is nominal.<sup>117</sup> Repeatedly in their reports, the City missionaries cite the large number of public houses and the poverty of the people as causes of this neglect of, or indifference to, religion. They regard their task as filling a gap caused by the Church's past failure, with few exceptions, to evangelise among the poor. While the majority said that they did not attend church because they lacked appropriate clothing, others were sceptical or simply had no religious faith. Some, such as Roman Catholics or Mormons, were not interested in an evangelical service.

The home missions were, to a large extent, modelled on foreign missions. As a result, the missionaries often had a similar paternalistic attitude towards those with whom they came into contact. The home mission workers sought to inculcate their middle-class mores and values into those with insufficient means to support them. They accepted the *status quo* of society's fundamental class distinctions, reinforcing social barriers which made it difficult to reach the 'lapsed masses'. Herein lay the cause of their failure to achieve lasting success. By the 1890s this approach was recognised as a major blunder.<sup>118</sup>

The Church of Scotland, too, frequently examined non-church going. In a report to the General Assembly on 27 May 1890, the Committee outlined some possible

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<sup>117</sup> *ibid.* Report 1861, p.14

<sup>118</sup> Kenneth M. Boyd, *Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family 1850-1914*, (Edinburgh: John Donald 1980), p.16

reasons, within the Church's control and outside it. Among the former was Sabbath desecration caused by the increasing demand for Sunday labour through a competitive trade environment which encroached upon the working men's leisure. For the middle and upper classes, on the other hand, the temptation was to 'waste it in frivolous amusement and worldly dissipation'.<sup>119</sup> Another hindrance was the physical environment in which so many thousands lived. The Church conceded that, although the Church was not directly responsible for the physical environment, the General Assembly should consider the social situation very carefully.

In offering solutions, the Committee suggested factors which should be taken into account. The most damning was that the Church's efforts concentrated upon the needs of their congregations, particularly the seat holders, and not of the parish as a whole.<sup>120</sup> The missionaries, whose work we have considered, would have agreed that this had been the Church's biggest failure. The Church, too, was under great strain because of the rapid increase in the population of the cities and large towns as people moved in search of employment. If the parish territorial organisation of the Church was restored, they would be less likely to lapse from membership.<sup>121</sup> This conclusion, however, takes no account of denominational preferences, nor the fact that some churches attracted large congregations because their ministers were famous preachers. By the late nineteenth century church going had become a matter

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<sup>119</sup> 'Report of Committee on Non-Church Going 27 May 1890' in *Reports and Schemes of the Church of Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons 1890), pp. 910-924 (p.912)

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.* p.914

<sup>121</sup> *ibid.* p.913



of individual preference, and many were opting not to attend church at all, showing that, in Edinburgh at least, society was becoming more secular.

## **CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION**

In this study of the people and churches of Edinburgh, we have seen the growth of the city from the crowded lands of the Old Town to the splendour of the New, from the development of Victorian villas and tenements to the beginnings of twentieth-century suburbia. In ecclesiastical terms, the divisions among Presbyterians, the majority form of church government, were gradually overcome, despite some dissenting voices. Other denominations also played their part in city life. Competition was giving way to co-operation as the churches came together in evangelism and social concern.

### **8.1 Social and Political Change**

The nineteenth century witnessed considerable social and political change in Edinburgh, especially after the electoral reforms for national and local government from 1832 and 1834 respectively. Their inter-relationship has been shown in the democratisation of the electorate as the parliamentary franchise was extended until, by the late nineteenth century, most adult male householders had the vote. As we saw in Chapter 1, this meant that political power passed from the landed gentry to the middle classes of the towns and cities. One result was that the Church of Scotland became more democratic, with the increased representation of the middle classes among the commissioners to the General Assembly and as members of synods or presbyteries. These church courts, however, were still male preserves. On the other hand, women could vote and stand for election locally in, for example, school boards, provided they met the required property qualifications.

As was noted in Chapter 1, the extended franchise made it possible for dissenting businessmen like Adam Black and Duncan McLaren to be elected first to the Town Council, where they both in turn became Lord Provost, and then as Members of Parliament for Edinburgh. Thus the city's politics became more liberal at local and national level. No longer were conservative landowners and lawyers dominant, as the middle-class business man elected more representatives from his own social group.

The link between religion and politics is also apparent in Gladstone's Midlothian campaigns, the first of which, from November to December 1879, took place a few years after the visit of Moody and Sankey to Edinburgh (described in Chapter 3). Lord Rosebery, who, in 1873, had attended a Democratic Party Convention in New York, introduced American methods into British politics in the way he directed Gladstone's campaign. We saw how Gladstone was accorded the same kind of reception as had the American evangelists. He also made similar use of press publicity, ushering in a new style of politics. Nor would it have gone unnoticed that in his youth Gladstone had been a friend of Thomas Chalmers, or that his father had been a native of Leith and for many years had maintained a house in Edinburgh. This background would have added to his appeal in the city (Chapter 1, pp.62-71).

Chapter 4 showed how Thomas Guthrie, a Free Church minister, tried to remedy the failure of the parish education system to meet the needs of the poorest in the community. Although educational provision had improved generally with the growth of denominational schools, their children were still unprovided for, as the parents could not afford even the modest fees charged. By the 1860s a Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of the Duke of Argyll, was formed to examine educational

provision in Scotland. As was noted, their report to Parliament led to the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, which transferred responsibility from the churches and heritors to locally elected school boards. However, these boards secured the place of non-denominational religious education in schools and gave the churches

a more effective influence under a state system as either had enjoyed in the schools for decades.<sup>1</sup>

The effect of the Act on the parish schools was seen in the example of St. Stephen's which, although successful, could not compete with the greater resources of government. The state therefore became the major provider of education rather than the Church (Chapter 4, pp.208-213).

Also in Chapter 4, the role of churches in drawing attention to the inadequacy of housing for Edinburgh's working-class citizens was examined. One of the leading advocates for improved housing was James Begg, who for over forty years served as Free Church minister in Newington, a southern suburb of the city. Drawing on his experience in the mining village of Liberton, then beyond the city boundary but not far from his new charge, Begg sought to alleviate the conditions in which the ordinary working man lived. His took his campaign to the highest level of government, writing to the prime minister requesting that information on housing and education be included in the 1861 census. Consequently, the Scottish census provided a detailed account of the social position of each household (Chapter 4, pp.216-217). However, although better housing became available for those who could afford it, the very poorest did not benefit. As already indicated, the official

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<sup>1</sup> Donald J. Withrington, 'The Churches in Scotland c.1870-c.1900: Towards a New Social Conscience?' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, vol. xix (1977) 155-168 (p.156)

records do not show what happened to those displaced by the new building. We can only conclude, from the experiences of missionaries in the area, described in Chapter 7, that they continued to exist in the remaining overcrowded tenements of the Old Town.

## **8.2 Class**

As was shown in Chapter 1, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards Edinburgh residents were increasingly divided on class lines, as the city expanded with the development of the New Town and the growth of the Victorian suburbs. It was in many respects two separate cities, where the lives of the poor were almost unknown to the middle and upper classes, except in an employer/employee relationship, or as the focus of philanthropy, where the Church sought to counter the effects of social dislocation in a rapidly changing society.

In Chapter 5, my membership analysis showed that Groups A-D (high status) men and women predominated in all six churches studied (Table 5:12, p.301). Only in two congregations, however, St. Stephen's Church of Scotland and Free St. George's, were more high status men coming into membership than women of similar background, with 62% and 64% respectively of new members (Table 5:5, p.237 and Table 5:7, p.245). This was due to the numbers of legal and medical men in their congregations, as one might expect, given their location in the New Town. In such professional circles church membership was almost mandatory. Especially among Presbyterian elders, leadership in the churches was drawn from this group of men. Although firm evidence is elusive, from the records examined, we have the impression that girls tended to join the church at a younger age than boys. An

example of this is found in Free St. George's, where several proprietors of girls' boarding schools encouraged their pupils to become communicants in that church, of which they themselves were members.

With 50% high status males, Brighton Street Evangelical Union Church would appear to have a similar congregation to the Presbyterian churches. In fact, however, the Brighton Street members were mainly retired with private incomes or were landlords (Table 5:9, p.284). The only professional men were the minister, a solicitor, and one with an academic qualification whose occupation could not be traced. The remaining high status males were business men, either in commercial firms or in manufacturing.

Augustine Congregational Church had the lowest proportion of high status men at 37% but the greatest (53%) of high status females. At 40% and 52% respectively, the nearby Bristo Place Baptist Church was similar. This suggests that location played a part, although both churches attracted members from across the city and beyond, Augustine because of its powerful preacher, Lindsay Alexander, and Bristo Place because of its distinctive form of church order and emphasis on believers' baptism.

Agencies such as Edinburgh City Mission and Carrubber's Close Mission, and outreach from individual churches, discussed in Chapter 7, sought to break down the class barriers apparent in the city churches. From the reports of their missionaries, however, it is evident that the inherently paternalistic approach of the church office-bearers often alienated those whom they tried to reach. An example of this attitude was found in Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church, whose elders refused to admit to communion, and so full church membership, adherents of their

mission in Chalmers Close. As a result, the missionary, William Gillespie, resigned and appealed to the Presbytery, who gave him permission to administer the sacraments with a view to forming a church in the neighbourhood, of which he became pastor (Chapter 7, pp.377-380).

This failure contrasted with the situation in Free St. George's. A few months after the commencement of their mission at Fountainbridge, the elders co-operated with the missionary, Thomas Alexander, to admit to the sacrament those who desired to participate, although initially they had to communicate at the mother church, as Alexander was not an ordained minister (Chapter 7, p.370). With the appointment as missionary of James Hood Wilson, a probationer licensed by Edinburgh Presbytery, permission was granted to allow communion to be administered at Fountainbridge which, in 1854, became a separate charge, with Wilson as its minister. However, Free St. George's, under the ministry of Robert Candlish, still supervised the infant congregation for a period (Chapter 7, pp.370-371). Within a few years the Fountainbridge congregation had grown to such an extent that a new building was necessary. Thus, in December 1864, Barclay Free Church was opened as a 'daughter' congregation with Wilson as their minister. However, some members, because it was nearer their homes, chose to continue to worship in the old building, again with assistance from Free St. George's (p.372). These examples show how the strong personalities of individual leaders led to the successful planting of new congregations. Nevertheless, the social barriers remained.

### 8.3 Gender

The most striking feature apparent from the membership analysis is that women formed the majority in all congregations. As already indicated in Chapter 1, women outnumbered men in the general population and, particularly in middle-class homes, were seen as having the primary responsibility for the moral education of the family. Church attendance reinforced this role, as they set an example to their children and also to their servants.

In some churches female domestic servants constituted a significant number among the congregation. The highest proportion was found in Charlotte Chapel, with 114 servants, 30% of the sample (Table 5:11, p.297). Even this could be an underestimate of those who actually attended the church, as believers' baptism by immersion was required for admission as a full member. Those who worshipped there, but chose not to be so baptised, are not included in the membership roll. The Chapel's near neighbour, Free St. George's, also had a large number of servants, 140, or 23% of the sample. In both these cases their situation in the New Town would have been a factor, as servants were more likely to attend a church close to their places of employment.

Although to a lesser extent, the three congregations near George Square (Augustine Congregational, Brighton Street Evangelical Union, and Bristo Place Scotch Baptist) also had a significant number of servants, about 10% of their female members. Placed as they were at the edge of a wealthy district, these churches, too, would be attractive for domestic staff whose free time was limited. As already noted



in Chapter 5, we learn something of a servant's lifestyle from the magazine of Bristo Place. A member of that church for over fifty years, Joanna Macdonald had spent her working life in domestic service. She was the only servant honoured by such an obituary, which recorded her faithful attendance but also noted that her duties prevented her full participation in church work (p.294). We have the impression that the anonymous author regretted this situation.

Church records also suggest that the minister acted as an agent to place girls in employment as servants, especially where he had moved from a small town. An example is found in Augustine Church. In November 1894, the members called A. R. Henderson, then minister of Montrose Congregational Church, to the Augustine pastorate, to which he was inducted on 7 February 1895 (Chapter 5, p.268). On 24 July 1901 three girls, Jane, Susan and Christina Stewart, possibly sisters, were admitted as members on transfer from Montrose. Christina was living in the manse so we may deduce that Henderson employed her as a servant. Jane and Susan were also in middle-class households (Appendix 3b, p.185).

The period 1850 to 1905 showed a gradual expansion of the role of women in public affairs. The churches played a part in this process, a development that was given added impetus with the religious revivals which took place during the period. As we saw in Chapter 3, Mrs. Finney accompanied her husband, Charles, during his visit to Edinburgh in 1859 and led meetings, including preaching, especially for women. Addresses by women became acceptable for some churches, although the women were still prevented from speaking in other mixed gatherings, a prohibition which began to break down with the leadership of Josephine Butler in the campaign

against the Contagious Diseases Acts from about 1870.<sup>2</sup> In their 1873-4 campaign, Moody and Sankey took the active role of women in church life a stage further. Middle- and upper-class ladies were trained as counsellors to assist female enquirers. The choirs which were formed to lead the worship during the Moody and Sankey campaign included both men and women, breaking down the class barriers as well as the conventional gender patterns of behaviour. After 1875 more and more congregations across Scotland introduced choirs and, even organs, into regular worship.

Philanthropy, on the other hand, played a significant role in the lives of women within the churches. The middle-class lady was very active in the work among the poor, being particularly concerned with visiting their homes and offering advice. However, as we saw in Chapter 7, this activity was often regarded as patronising or demeaning by those whom she visited, since she had little understanding of the circumstances in which the poor lived. Bristo Place appointed lady visitors, the wives and daughters of male office-bearers, to assist in this work, thus reinforcing the class divisions in such philanthropic efforts. Middle-class ladies were also involved in fundraising for organisations such as the Edinburgh City Mission, or in Sunday School teaching, roles which paralleled their domestic responsibilities in household management and moral training.

Throughout the period of review we can also trace changes in female employment from membership details. St. Stephen's Church of Scotland had several midwives or ladies' nurses among the congregation. Their homes were near each

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<sup>2</sup> Jane Jordan, *Josephine Butler* pbk. edn. (London: Hambleton Continuum, 2007), pp.106-126

other in Jamaica Street, a poor area behind the classical Georgian splendour of Heriot Row. From other churches, members 'lived in' as nurses in the Royal Infirmary. The records do not differentiate between those who were students and the fully qualified, at a time when nursing was becoming more professionalised.

Perhaps the most notable professional woman is Jane Alice Craig, daughter of the Brighton Street minister, Robert Craig. She qualified as a doctor, possibly in the 1890s, and must have been amongst the earliest female medical practitioners (Chapter 5, p.283). It is possible that Miss Craig would have known Sophia Jex-Blake who, as we saw in Chapter 1, in 1878 became the first woman to practice medicine in Scotland.

Teachers also provide another group of professional women, and they were especially prominent among the members of Free St. George's, where, as already noted, there were several proprietors of girls' boarding schools. This church also attracted students from the Normal College (Moray House) founded by the Free Church for the training of their teachers. Training as primary school teachers became the principal means whereby the children of the aspiring working class could enter the professions. The Roughead sisters of Bristo Place were music teachers, appropriate employment for the daughters of a dealer in pianos and other musical instruments (Chapter 5, p.293).

Elizabeth Henderson, a member of Charlotte Chapel, was possibly the owner of a vegetarian restaurant (Chapter 5, p.298). Her position is an example of a single woman entering commercial business on her own account, although wives often assisted their husbands, especially as shopkeepers, and continued to conduct the business when their husbands died. Where women lived in boarding houses or

other lodgings, their employment could not be traced. It is likely that they were shop assistants or among the early office workers.

Thus, through this study of church life and church attendance in Edinburgh during the later nineteenth century, we have gained a picture of a society in transition, politically, socially and economically. Churches played their part in improving social conditions, such as housing and in moral welfare, although not always successfully. Church leaders, both Established and dissenters, served the community as councillors and Members of Parliament. Others were prominent in philanthropic causes. The majority of church members, however, remained unknown except to those with whom they worshipped. Some of their stories have been revealed here, rescuing the more humble church member from the 'enormous condescension of posterity'.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, rev.edn. (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd.1968; repr.1976), Preface 9-15 (p.13)

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## Appendix 1

## CH2/607/25 St Stephen's Communion Roll 1867 to 1873

(Every 10<sup>th</sup> name plus members of the same family. Heads of households who are members are shown in bold type. Where names could not be traced at addresses shown or where addresses were not listed in directories no information on occupations could be obtained.)

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Mrs Adams</b>	10 Nelson Street			no occupation	
Mrs Adamson	17 Tantallon Place		Charles Brown	coal merchant 97 St Leonard Street	
Ellen Ainslie	10 Eton Terrace				
<b>John Aitchison</b>	2 Hamilton Place				from Dean Church October 1862
Mrs Aitchison	ditto				ditto
<b>John Aitken</b>	23 India Place	cabman			1864 catechumen
Eliza Aitken (wife)	ditto				
Mrs Alexander	13 Bell Place				
Alice Allan	18 Dundas Street		John Allan	cabinet maker	daughter?
<b>Bruce Allan</b>	17 Dublin Street				
Mrs Allan	ditto				
Jessie Allan	18 Northumberland Street		William Seller	MD FRCP	servant ?
William Anderson	18 Gardners Crescent				young communicant October 1870
Mrs Anderson	ditto				lately Catherine Hunter
<b>James Angus</b>	2 Eyre Place		Mrs Matilda Reid	no occupation	young communicant October 1873
Mrs Angus	ditto				
Agnes Armstrong	35 Heriot Row		William Stewart Walker of Bowland	no occupation	from (place illegible) 1865 servant ?
Sarah Armstrong	3 Manor Place		Major-General Fogo RA of Kirkleton	no occupation	from Langholm April 1871 servant ?

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Miss Mary Arnott	16 Fettes Row				from Park Church, Glasgow, 1869
Miss Burnet Arnott	ditto				ditto
Miss Emilia Arnott	ditto				ditto
Angelina Bain	22 NW Circus Place		John Craig	grocer	from St Bernard's October 1861 servant ?
Mrs Baptie	35 Jamaica Street		Mrs Urquhart	ladies' nurse	
Robert Barr	54 Cumberland Street				catechumen 1865
<b>Edmund Baxter</b>	9 Rutland Square	W S		Baxter & Mitchell	elder
Mrs Baxter	ditto				
Charles Baxter	ditto				young communicant October 1869
Mrs Belfrage	10 Brandon Street		<b>A W Belfrage</b>	land surveyor and civil engineer	Carfrae and Belfrage
Jessie Belfrage					daughter
<b>Christopher Bell</b>	4 Scotland Street		Robert Young	no occupation	from Nairn
Mrs Bell	ditto				ditto
Mary Bell	28 Clarence Street		William Husband	MD FRCSE	from Helensburgh October 1871 servant ?
Mrs R C Bell	Sciennes Grove				
William Bell	15 Brown Street		Miss Sorreck	French staymaker	April 1862
Miss Annie Bennet	17 Patriot Hall				
Isabella Bigham	6 Atholl Crescent	servant	A D Cockburn	no occupation	young communicant April 1873
Mrs Binns	23 Downie Place				
Robert Black	9 Saunders Street				from Newton 1866

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>William Blackwood</b>	5 Clarendon Crescent			silk mercer T & J Blackwood 43 George Street	elder
Mrs Blackwood	ditto				
Miss Blackwood	ditto				
Mr John Blackwood	ditto				
Mr Alexander Blackwood	ditto				young communicant 1869
Miss Helen Blackwood	ditto				young communicant October 1870
Mr Thomas Blackwood	ditto				ditto
Mrs Lennox Blaikie	36 Dublin Street		Dr Andrew Brown	physician and surgeon	
Margaret Blaikie	Royal Infirmary				nurse ?
Mary Blake	34 Melville Street		William Gedden	lodgings	young communicant April 1871
<b>James Boyd</b>	4 Moray Place			no occupation	
Mrs Boyd	ditto				
Mrs Boyd	8 St Vincent Street		Henry Callendar	CA (19 Hill Street)	from St Boswells October 1873
Peter Broomfield	5 West Adam Street				from Fala April 1863
<b>Mr Broomfield</b>	ditto				ditto
Mrs Broomfield	ditto				ditto
Miss Euphemia Brown	20 Picardy Place		Mrs William Thomson	no occupation	
Isabella Brown	8 Abercromby Place				from Berwick
Mrs Brown	ditto				ditto
Mrs Brown	6 Brunswick Street		John White	pawnbroker	
Mrs Brown	Jamaica Street				
Jane Brown	26 Pitt Street		Mrs David Fraser	no occupation	servant ?

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Margaret Brown	3 Greenside Row		M & M Andreoli	carvers & gilders, looking- glass manufacturers and plate-glass merchants 15 Greenside Street	young communicant October 1872 servant ?
<b>John Bryan</b>	27 Jamaica Street				from West Calder 1859
Mrs Bryan	ditto				ditto
Peter Buckle	Bedford Street				October 1865
Archibald Bunyan	39 India Place				
Mrs Burns	47 Thistle Street		Dr Andrew Brown	physician and surgeon	young communicant 1867
Mrs Burton	9 Dean Street		John Millar	no occupation	
Robina Burton	ditto				
<b>Benjamin Calman</b>	17 Allan Street				from Elie, Fife 1865
Mrs Calman	ditto				ditto
Annie Cambridge	14 Raeburn Place				catechumen April 1861
Susan Cambridge	2 Cheyne Street		<b>Miss Agnes Henderson</b>	dressmaker	
Mrs Alice Cameron	11 Bellvue Crescent				
James Cameron	59 Thistle Street				from Perth October 1871
Jessie Cameron	22 Dean Terrace		Mrs Bowie	no occupation	servant ?
Margaret Campbell	11 Bellevue Crescent		Mrs Mackichan	boarding school	catechumen April 1861 boarder
Angela Campbell	ditto		ditto	ditto	ditto
James Campbell	10 Bedford Street				young communicant April 1873
Agnes Carmichael	9 South East Circus Place		Rev A B Holme James	St Thomas English Episcopal Chapel Rutland Place	young ommunicant October 1873 servant?
James J Carruthers	11 Avondale Place				young communicant April 1872

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Mrs Cheyne</b>	10 Rutland Square				
Miss A Cheyne	ditto				
Mr John Cheyne	ditto				
Mr Harry Cheyne	ditto				
<b>Professor Christian</b>	44 Inverleith Row				
Mrs Christian	ditto				
Anne Christie					catechumen April 1861
Christina Christie	29 India Place			ladies' nurse	
Elizabeth Christie	10 Duncan Street		Mrs Mackenzie	ladies' nurse	
George Christie	8 Hamilton Place				from St Andrew's Church, Edinburgh October 1862
Mrs Christie	5 Howe Street				
Miss Chrystie	with Mrs Lamont of Knockdoon				servant ?
Mary Clerk	10 Buckingham Terrace		William Kippen	no occupation	from Greenside servant?
<b>Edward Cochrane</b>	91 Rose Street				
Mrs Cochrane	ditto				
<b>Mr Colquhoun</b>	1 Royal Terrace				from Tron Church 1868
Mrs Colquhoun	ditto				ditto
Miss Colquhoun	ditto				ditto
Miss Flora Colquhoun	ditto				ditto
Miss Jessie Colquhoun	ditto				ditto
Miss Lucy Colquhoun	ditto				ditto
<b>Dr Colthead</b>	4 Great King Street				from Newhaven October 1867

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>James Constable</b>	St Martins Lodge Wardie Crescent				elder in Errol October 1870
Mrs Constable	ditto				
<b>Mr Cook</b>	28 Melville Terrace				
Mrs Cook	ditto				
<b>John Cossar</b>	34 Jamaica Street				catechumen 1864
Jane Cossar (wife)	ditto				
James Crabb	1 London Street	medical student			young communicant April 1873
Lawrence Crawford	39 Heriot Row				
Mary Crichton	Balgreen House				young communicant April 1871
Mrs Cumming	3 Jamaica Street				from Tron Church 1867
Catherine Cumming	ditto				ditto
<b>Mr David Dalglish</b>	32 Dundas Street			machine cork maker Dalglish & Son, South back of Canongate	from United Presbyterian Church, Newington
Mrs Dalglish	ditto				
Miss Elizabeth Daniel	22 Jamaica Street		Mrs Drummond Mrs Daniel	both ladies' nurses	young communicant April 1872
Mrs Davidson	67 Great King Street				
<b>John Dawson</b>	33 Brunswick Street		A Anderson	cabinet maker	
Mrs Dawson	ditto				
Mrs Deasley	28 Jamaica Street				
Miss M E Dewar	5 George Square		Thomas A G Balfour	MD	admitted on lines from Rev Mr Jardine April 1863
Mary Ann Dickson	17 Coates Crescent		Miss J Tuck	boarding school	from Coldstream October 1869

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Thomas Dickson</b>	20 India Place				from Selkirk 1868
Mrs Dickson	ditto				ditto
Mrs Dobie	79 Great King Street		John Ross	SSC	from St Mary's 1868
Mrs Doig	34 Jamaica Street				from Greenside October 1870
Janet Drew	38 Cumberland Street				
Cecilia Dunlop	8 Jamaica Street		John Young	wine & spirit merchant	servant ?
Elizabeth Dunn	45 Charlotte Square	domestic servant	James Watson	manager Scottish Provident Institution for Life Assurance and Annuities 6 St Andrews Square	catechumen 1865
<b>James Edwards</b>	St Bernards (?)				catechumen 1865
Mrs Edwards	ditto				ditto
Andrew Elder	52 Pitt Street	victual dealer			formerly 13 Dundas Street
Mary Elder	11 Darnaway Street		Miss Rollo	no occupation	from Melrose November 1873 servant ?
<b>John Erskine</b>	9 Patriot Hall				from Laurencekirk April 1862
Mrs Erskine	ditto				
Jane Farquhar	9 Royal Circus		David Maclagen	CA	elder Free St George's servant ?
William Ferguson	18 Walker Street		William Ferguson	no occupation	April 1872
<b>Lady D Fergusson</b>	New Hailes			no occupation	
Elizabeth Fergusson	ditto				daughter
Catherine Fergusson	ditto				ditto
Mary Fergusson	ditto				ditto

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Mrs Field	14 Gloucester Place		John A Macrae WS	master extraordinary of the High Courts of Chancery of England and Ireland	servant?
Mrs Finlay	35 Dublin Street		Charles Patrick Finlay	Macnaughtan and Finlay 18 Young Street	
<b>John Finlay</b>	32 India Place				lines from North Leith April 1863
Mrs Finlay	ditto				ditto
Morris Finlay	40 York Place		Charles Finlay	ACS	young communicant 1868
Davina Fisher	49 India Place		William Scott	no occupation	servant ?
Susan Fleming	20 Charlotte Square		John Smith	MD FRCP	from South Leith October 1870 servant?
Miss Forbes	7 St Vincent Street				
<b>John Forman</b>	8 Heriot Row	WS		WS (chambers 4 Hill Street)	elder
Mrs Forman	ditto				
Alexander Forman	ditto				
Robert Forman	ditto			CA (Paterson & Forman 55 Frederick Street )	
Miss I H Forman	ditto				young communicant 1868
Helen Forman	ditto				young communicant October 1869
Emily Forman	ditto				young communicant April 1872
Charlotte Forman	ditto				ditto
<b>Mr John Forman jr</b>	23 India Street			WS (partner with father)	
Mrs John Forman	ditto				October 1873



Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Agnes Forrest	11 Cheyne Street		David Forrest	no occupation	young communicant 1869
<b>? Fraser</b>	204 Rose Street	cabman			catechumen October 1866
Mrs Fraser	ditto				
Mrs Gardiner	30 Great King Street		John Ross	master of English language & literature High School (30-32 Mrs Ross ladies' boarding school)	servant?
Margaret Gavin	Darlings Buildings				catechumen not October 1862
<b>Peter Gaylor</b>	8 Henderson Row				catechumen April 1857
Mrs Gaylor	ditto				
<b>James Gibson</b>	15 Jamaica Street				from Mr Edgar Dunbeg Free Church 1865
Mrs Gibson	ditto				ditto
Miss Eliza Gillespie	53 Northumberland Street		John Gillespie	WS 81A George Street	catechumen 1865
Mrs Gilmore	3 St Bernards Place				
<b>Robert Girdwood</b>	30 Moray Place			wool broker Tanfield	
Mrs Girdwood	ditto				
Mrs S Glen	Brunswick Street				catechumen October 1863
<b>John Gordon</b>	3 Bellevue Crescent			HM Inspector of Schools	elder (to Free St George's 1843)
Mrs Gordon	ditto				
Mrs Gordon	15 Great Stuart Street		James Moncrieff	MP dean of Faculty of Advocates	elder Free St George's servant ?
John E Gordon	2 Randolph Crescent		<b>Edward J Strathearn Gordon</b>	Lord Advocate	young communicant April 1873
<b>Charles W Gowans</b>	10 Duncan Street				
Mrs Gowans	ditto				

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>William Gould</b>	22 Jamaica Street				October 1861
Mrs Gould	ditto				
<b>Mrs Graham</b>	14 Stafford Street		Mrs Graham of Dunnabie	no occupation	from Tron Church
Susan Graham	63 Cumberland Street		James Graham	no occupation	
James Gray	15 Catherine Street				young communicant April 1871
Miss Greenlees	1 St Vincent Street		Mrs C Gemble	no occupation	young communicant 1871
Miss Gregorson	26 Pitt Street				from Oban (see also Laxdale)
Eliza Grieve	56 Frederick Street			Stuart & Cheyne WS	
Catherine Handasyde	1 Brighton Place Portobello		Mrs Gilbert Handasyde	no occupation	
Alexander Hay	22 Broughton Street				
<b>Mr Heddle of Melsetta</b>	19 Great King Street		William H Gillespie of Torbanehill (house 46 Melville Street)		lines from Kirkwall 1863
Mrs Heddle	ditto				ditto
<b>Miss Agnes Henderson</b>	2 Cheyne Street			dressmaker	
Margaret Henderson	ditto				
<b>Miss Marget Henderson</b>	12 Ann Street				
Alison Henderson	ditto				
Joanna Henderson	ditto				
Mrs Henderson	25 Great King Street		William Handyside	no occupation	servant ?
Jane Henderson	9 South East Circus Place		Mrs Thomas Whyte	no occupation	from Peebles February 1871 servant ?
Lilian Henderson	16 Randolph Crescent		Miss Thomson	no occupation	young communicant April 1872 servant ?

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Mary Henderson	4 Melville Crescent		Andrew Grieve	WS	from Finnieston, Glasgow October 1873 servant ?
Richard Brinsley Heriot	32 Clarence Street		Rev Matthew Churton MA		catechumen April 1861
Miss Margaret Hill	11 Bellevue Street				catechumen 1865
Patrick Hill	108 George Street				young communicant October 1869
Miss Hogarth	1 Scotland Street				
James Hood	4 N E Circus Place (Circus Place School)		William Begbie	rector (house No 6)	catechumen 1866 teacher ?
<b>Miss Jane M Hope</b>	9 Gloucester Place		Miss Hope	no occupation	
Miss Elizabeth Hope	ditto				
Miss Charlotte Hope	ditto				
Isabella Hopkirk	75 Great King Street		Miss Hamilton	no occupation	servant ?
<b>David Hunter</b>	29 Dundas Street	SSC			
Mrs Hunter	7 St Vincent Street				
Miss C Hunter	ditto				
Miss W A Hunter	ditto				
<b>William Hunter</b>	6 Cumberland Street		J F Cockburn	grocer & wine merchant 20 North West Circus Place	shop assistant ?
Mrs Hunter	ditto				
Ann Hutchison	133 George Street		Alexander Sinclair Miss Sinclair of Ulbster	no occupation	from North Leith October 1872 servant ?
Miss Imlach	48 Queen Street		F B Imlach	dentist	
Mrs Imlach					
Christian Innes	33 Melville Street		Rev George Coventry of Shanwell	St Peter's Episcopal Church Lutton Place	from Abercromby 1868 servant ?

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>William Jackes</b>	3 Jamaica Street		Andrew Somerville	mason	employee ?
Mrs Jackes	ditto				
Mary Jacob	House of Industry				servant ?
<b>Alexander Jamieson</b>	5 South Charlotte Street	CA			
Mrs Jamieson	ditto				
<b>Mr Jamieson</b>	58 Castle Street				
Mrs Jamieson	ditto				
Archibald Jamieson	ditto				young communicant April 1871
Margaret Jamieson	46 Great King Street				young communicant October 1873
<b>Peter Jenkinson</b>	10 Bedford Street				from Dunning October 1861
Mrs Helen Jenkinson	ditto				
<b>James Johnston</b>	1 Malta Terrace				from South Free Church Stirling April 1873
Mrs Johnston	ditto				ditto
Agnes Johnston	ditto				ditto
Catherine Johnston	ditto				ditto
<b>John Johnston</b>	19 Macdowal Street				
Mrs Johnston	ditto				
<b>James Kay</b>	Wharton Lane (New Royal Infirmary) (formerly 47 Brunswick Street)			clerk of works	from St Cuthbert's 1867
Mrs Kay	ditto				ditto
<b>Robert Keith</b>	4 Clarence Street				April 1871
Mrs Keith	ditto				ditto
Jessie Kennedy	4 Dean Terrace	servant	William Scott	MD FRCSE	young communicant October 1873
Mary Kerr	40 Jamaica Street		William Swan	no occupation	from Ratho April 1872 servant ?

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Mrs Kettle	2 Fettes Row		James Johnston	no occupation	from Fossoway October 1863
Janet Kettle	ditto				daughter
<b>James Kippen of Westerton</b>	8 Oxford Terrace			no occupation	
Mrs Kippen	ditto				
James Kirk	1 St Bernard Place		James Crawford	boot and shoe maker	employee?
Miss Ann Knox	8 Rutland Square				from Manchester 1869
Miss Laidlaw	26 Alva Place				
Miss Ann Laurie	9 Nelson Street		Archibald C Laurie	advocate	catechumen 1865
Mrs Laxdale	26 Pitt Street				see also Gregorson
Elizabeth Leishman	7 Inverleith Terrace				from Lanark October 1871
<b>Andrew Leonard</b>	46 Cumberland Street		Robert H Lauder	no occupation	from Preston Kirk
Mrs Leonard	ditto				ditto
Miss Ann M S Leslie	7 N Circus Place				
R Lewis	Braehouse Lothian Road				October 1843
Mrs Robert Linton	13 Dundas Street				from Does & Brora Free Church 1869
Mrs Catherine Logan	1 Catherine Place Warriston Road		Peter Gloag	writer	
Catherine Logan	ditto				
<b>Mrs Logan</b>	14 Saxe Coburg Place			no occupation	
Miss Logan	ditto				daughter
Emilia W Logan	ditto				ditto
Katherina Logan	ditto				ditto
Janette D Logan	ditto				ditto
F Lockwood Logan	ditto	MD			son
<b>William Logan</b>	5 Alison Square		Thomas F Adam	leather merchant 42 Potterrow	from Pencaitland 1867 employee?
Mrs Logan	ditto				ditto

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Grace Lorraine	10 Inverleith Terrace				young communicant April 1873
<b>Mrs MacArthur</b>	1 West Claremont Street			no occupation	
Jane MacArthur	ditto				
Agnes MacArthur	ditto				
<b>Thomas MacCreath</b>	19 Jamaica Street				from Dumbarton
Mrs MacCreath	ditto				ditto
Mrs Mary Macdonald	16 Brunswick Street				from Mr Magson Gaelic Chapel April 1862
Mrs Macdonald	19 Jamaica Street		Mrs Sivewright	nurse	from North Leith October 1870
Miss Macdougall	1 Saxe Coburg Place		Mrs Fleming	no occupation	servant ?
Mrs MacEwan	20 India Place				
Miss A C Macfarlane	14 Moray Place		<b>The Hon Lord Ormidale</b>	judge	elder
Margaret Macgregor	28 Jamaica Street				
Daniel Mackay	14 Howe Street		Donald Mackay	no occupation	October 1871 from Greenside
Mrs Mackay	ditto				ditto
Annie Mackay	ditto				ditto
Charlotte Ann Mackay	ditto				ditto
Maggie Mackay	7 St Bernards Crescent		John Mackay	pharmacist 119 George Street	
Mrs Grace Mackay	28 Heriot Row		<b>Douglas Maclagan</b>		
<b>Douglas Maclagan</b>	28 Heriot Row	MD		Professor of Medical Jurisprudence Edinburgh University	elder
Mrs D Maclagan	ditto				
Robert Craig Maclagan	ditto	MD			

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>James Maclaren</b>	10 Hamilton Place				
Mrs Elizabeth Maclaren	ditto				
John Maclaren	ditto				
Mary Maclaren	ditto				
James Maclaren	ditto				
Malcolm Macnab	17 Howe Street		Robert Kemp	plumber & gasfitter Kirkwood and Kemp 50 Frederick Street	catechumen April 1864 employee ?
Helen Maconnacher	3 Charlotte Square				from Dalmeny October 1868
Elizabeth Macquarie	26 Pitt Street				catechumen October 1866
Margaret Main	17 Great Stuart Street		A R Clark	advocate	October 1861 servant ?
Jessie Malcolm	4 Wemyss Place		John Hunter	advocate	servant ?
William Mann	22 Raeburn Place		<b>William Mann</b>	writer 19 Princes Street	young communicant April 1872
Mr C Mason	5 Hamilton Place				from England 1868
<b>William Matheson</b>	2 Spencer Place Lothian Road				
Mrs Matheson	ditto				
<b>Mrs Mauchline</b>	32 India Place		Mrs Macinlay	ladies' nurse	
Miss Mauchline	ditto				
William Mauchline	ditto				catechumen 1865
<b>David Maxwell</b>	50 India Place				catechumen April 1864
Christina Maxwell (wife)	ditto				
Thomas Maxwell	Hawthornbank Water of Leith		Miss Aitken	no occupation	

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Robert McConnachie</b>	26 India Place				from Aberdeen October 1861
Mrs McConnachie	ditto				ditto
Hector McDuff	42 Queen Street		<b>Dr James Sidey</b>	surgeon (elder)	from Perth 1872
Mrs McFadzean	23 Cumberland Street		James Cumming	shoemaker	
<b>John Scott McHutcheon</b>	5 Randolph Crescent			no occupation	1867
Miss McHutcheon	ditto				
Miss Henrietta McHutcheon	ditto				
Miss Mary Anne McHutcheon	ditto				
Anne McIntyre	10 Clarence Street				April 1872
<b>Robertson McKie</b>	55 India Place				from Lochgelly 1867
Mrs McKie	ditto				ditto
Mrs McLachlan	40 Cumberland Lane				
Henrietta McLagan	44 Cumberland Street				young communicant April 1874
<b>James McLaren Sr</b>	10 Hamilton Place				
James McLaren jr	ditto				
William McLaren	ditto				
Mary McLaren	ditto				
Catherine McLaren	ditto				young communicant 1867
Archibald McLean	Silvermills				
Miss M F McLellan	26 Pitt Street				
Alexander McLeod	Braehouse Lothian Road	cabman			catechumen 1864
<b>William McMeikan</b>	6 Clarence Street			writer	
Mrs Agnes McMeikan	ditto				
Mrs McNaught	8 Buckingham Terrace		Archibald Smith	MD	servant ?



Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
John McPhail	31 St Vincent Street				
William McReadie	9 Atholl Crescent Lane				
May McReadie	ditto				
<b>Mr Melville</b>	49 Brunswick Street				from Newhaven July 1870
Mrs Melville	ditto				ditto
Mrs Alison Millar	29 India Place				catechumen 1865
<b>David Millar</b>	ditto				ditto
<b>Mrs Millar</b>	44 Howe Street				
<b>Mr David Miller</b>	6 Beaverbank Place				from Kettle October 1872
Mrs Miller	ditto				ditto (formerly Elizabeth Lumsden)
Isabella Miller	60 Broughton Street		R Leggat	coach hirer	young communicant October 1870
Janet Miller	10 Colville Place		<b>Mrs Miller</b>	no occupation	
<b>John Miller</b>	50 India Place				
Mrs Miller	ditto				
<b>David Mitchell</b>	30 Castle Street		A M Mitchell	grocer & wine merchant (32A)	from Hamilton October 1869
Mrs Mitchell	ditto				ditto
<b>Mr John Mitchell</b>	36 Dundas Street		David Duguid	grocer & spirit merchant	from Broughty Ferry April 1871 employee ?
Mrs Mitchell	ditto				ditto
<b>Miss Mitchell</b>	23 Raeburn Place			no occupation	
Miss Margaret Mitchell	ditto				
Isabella Morris	6 Great Stuart Street				
<b>Charles Morrison</b>	26 India Place				
Mrs Morrison	ditto				
Jane Morrison	6 Greenhill Park		Allan Duncan Stewart	civil engineer 12 Castle Street	servant ?

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>William Muir DD</b>	13 Saxe Coburg Place			minister St Stephen's	
Mrs Anne Muir	ditto				
<b>Claude Muirhead</b>	6 Heriot Row			no occupation	elder
<b>Claude Muirhead jr</b>	7 Heriot Row			MD FRCP	elder
George Muirhead	ditto				
Ebenezer Watson Muirhead	ditto				
William Muir Muirhead	ditto				
Helen Munro	4 Great King Street	domestic servant	<b>Dr Colthead</b>		from Nairn April 1863
<b>Lord Mure</b>	12 Ainslie Place			judge	elder
<b>Mr David Mure</b>	ditto	advocate			elder
Miss Helen A Mure	ditto				
Miss Ann Mure	ditto				
<b>Anthony Murray</b>	15 Ainslie Place	WS		Murray & Logan (solicitors)	
Mrs Murray	ditto				
Mary Anne Murray	ditto				
Isabella Murray	ditto				
Mrs Murray	1 St Bernards Row				
Miss Murray	ditto				
Mrs Neilson	7 Saunders Street				
Jessie Neilson	ditto				
Isabella Neilson	ditto				
Mrs Nelson	2 Darlings Buildings				
Isabella Nelson	ditto				
Jessie Nelson	ditto				
Mary Anne Nelson	43 East Claremont Street		Miss Robertson	no occupation	young communicant October 1872 servant ?

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>John Nicol</b>	44 India Place				catechumen 1864
Marion Nicol (wife)	ditto				ditto
Anne Nicolson	14 Cumberland Street		Miss Gregory Mrs Merrylees	no occupation	servant ?
<b>George Nimmo</b>	46 Brunswick Street				from Tranent 1868
Mrs Nimmo	ditto				ditto
Mrs Ann Ogilvy	39 India Place				from Greenock 1864
Miss Helen Ogilvy	ditto				catechumen 1864
<b>Lord Ormidale</b>	14 Moray Place			judge	elder (see MacFarlane above)
<b>Mr Francis Painter</b>	48 India Place			no occupation	
Mrs Painter	ditto				
Mrs Palmer	13 North West Circus Place				
Miss Jessie Palmer	ditto				
Miss Robina Palmer	ditto				
Miss Park	9 Howard Place		Misses Pott	no occupation	servant ?
Jane Paterson	23 Royal Circus		Rev V G Faithfull	Trinity Episcopal Church Dean Bridge	servant
James Paton	24 Howe Street				
<b>William Penney</b>	22 Great King Street			<b>Lord Kinloch</b> (judge)	elder
Mrs Penney	ditto				
Louse Jane Penney	ditto				
Orme C Penney	ditto				catechumen April 1861
Jane Peterkin	9 Heriot Row	domestic servant	Alexander Stevenson	WS and NP	
Mrs D Peters	30 Kemp Place				from Lady Yester's October 1871
<b>John Pirrie</b>	31 William Street				
Mrs Pirrie	ditto				

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Mary Ann Pitt	4 Royal Terrace		Robert Ellis William Ellis	A G R & W Ellis Writer to the Signet	from Dollar October 1873 servant ?
<b>Mitchell Prescott</b>	1 Allan Street	lithographer			catechumen October 1862
Mrs Prescott	ditto				ditto
Andrew Menelaus Pringle	34 Cumberland Street				catechumen October 1863
Helen Ramsay	12 York Place		Mrs Campbell of Ballimore	no occupation	from St Andrews 1867 servant ?
William Ramsay	2 Northumberland Place				
Margaret Reach	30 Gayfield Square		Captain Roland	fencing room and gymnasium 18 St Andrews Square	from Cullen 1866 servant ?
Elizabeth Reekie	10 Jamaica Street				
Jane Reid	13 Saxe Coburg Place	domestic service	<b>Rev William Muir</b>	minister St Stephen's	
John Reid	28 India Street	student of Divinity	Mrs Helen Barber	lodgings	from Original Secession Church October 1873
<b>Mrs Matilda Reid</b>	2 Eyre Place			no occupation	
Mrs Isabella Richardson	19 Brunswick Street				October 1870
Margaret Richardson	1 Royal Terrace		John Colquhoun	no occupation	April 1872 servant ?
Mrs R Ritchie	31 Howe Street		Mrs Howie	boarding house	from Free Church Perth
Miss Marjory Ritchie	ditto				ditto
<b>Miss Robertson</b>	9 St Vincent Street			no occupation	
Mrs Robertson	ditto				
Duncan Robertson	13 Inverleith Row		Donald Robertson	no occupation	
Miss Jane Robertson	ditto				

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Marion Robertson	46 Cumberland Street		Robert H Lauder	no occupation	servant ?
<b>Dr William Robertson</b>	28 Albany Street			MD FRCP Registrar of Scottish Branch General Medical Council	
Mrs Robertson	ditto				
Miss Isabella Robertson	ditto				
Miss Eliza Robertson	ditto				
Miss Robertson	1 Heriot Row		William Archibald	SSC NP (Duncan & Archibald)	
<b>Mrs Sarah Robin</b>	30 Warriston Crescent			no occupation	
Agnes Rodger	11 Belleview Crescent		Mrs Mackichan	boarding school	catechumen April 1861 boarder ?
Christina Rodger	ditto				ditto boarder ?
Andrew Ross	46 Dean Street				young communicant 1868
<b>Donald Ross</b>	27 Howe Street				
Mrs Ross	ditto				
<b>George Ross</b>	1 Darlings Buildings				from St Bernard's 1863
Mrs Ross	ditto				ditto
<b>Mrs Sang</b>	9 Brandon Street			no occupation	
<b>Thomas Sawers</b>	441 Lawnmarket				
Mrs Sawers	ditto				
Jane Scott	42 Manor Place				
<b>Ralph Erskine Scott</b>	127 Princes Street	accountant			elder
Mrs Scott	ditto				
Christian Scott	ditto				
Ebenezer Erskine Scott	ditto				
<b>Mrs Thomas G Scott</b>	22 Heriot Row			no occupation	

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Thomas Scott</b>	22 Fettes Row			bank messenger	
Janet Scott	ditto				
Margaret Scott	ditto				
Margaret Scoular	15 Danube Street	domestic servant	Miss Smith	no occupation	
Margaret Shand	14 Great Stuart Street		Major General Christie	no occupation	servant ?
Mrs Shand	26 Pitt Street		Mrs David Fraser	no occupation	from Newington October 1873
<b>Alexander Shepherd</b>	15 Fettes Row				
Mrs Shepherd	ditto				
<b>Alexander Shepherd</b>	3 Gloucester Place			McNab & Sons	
Mrs Shepherd	ditto				
<b>David Shepherd</b>	7 Hugh Miller Place		James W Horne	writing master	from Glasgow 1867
Mrs Shepherd	ditto				ditto
Miss Sheriff	4 North Melville Place		James Sheriff	cabinetmaker 5 Hope Street	from St Andrew's Church, Glasgow 1862
Miss Elizabeth Shield	Dial Villa Inverleith Field		John Wilson	Henderson & Wilson 9 Summerfield	servant ?
<b>Mrs Sibbald</b>	29 Clarence Street			no occupation	
Mrs Simpson	39 India Place		Mrs Sibbald	cook	
Miss Simson	5 Great Stuart Street				
Miss Agnes Simson	ditto				
Marjory Slater	20 Pitt Street				
Mrs Catherine Smith	Burley Lodge Trinity		George Smith	architect 7 St Andrews Square	
Miss Alice Smith	ditto				
Catherine Smith	Hamilton Place				
Jane Smith	4 Melville Crescent		Andrew Grieve	WS	from Free Church Kelso 1869 servant ?

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Peter B Smith	11 Castle Terrace				
Mrs Somerville	8 Dalrymple Crescent Grange				
Janet Somerville	22 Jamaica Street		Mrs Drummond	ladies' nurse	
Miss M Somerville	1 Scotland Street				
<b>John Stalker</b>	30 Patriot Hall				
Mrs Stalker	ditto				
<b>Mrs Stenhouse</b>	38 India Place			cook	
Mrs Stevens	11 Bellvue Crescent		Mrs Mackichan	boarding school	servant ?
John Stevenson	Brunswick Street				from St George's Edinburgh April 1867
Peter Stevenson	33 Howe Street				from United Provinces Canada October 1870
<b>Thomas Stevenson</b>	17 Heriot Row			civil engineer	from Greenside elder father of Robert Louis Stevenson
Mrs Stevenson	ditto				from Greenside
Donald Stewart	Leith Street Terrace				catechumen 1864
Susan Stewart	14 Royal Circus		Alex Christie	no occupation	servant ?
<b>Mrs William Stewart</b>	3 St Colme Street			no occupation	
Alison Stewart	ditto				
Christine Stewart	ditto				
Mr William Stewart	ditto			WS	son
<b>William Stewart</b>	47 India Place				
Mrs Stewart	ditto				from St Andrew's Edinburgh October 1872

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>William Stirling</b>	68 Cumberland Lane				1863
Margaret Stirling (wife)	ditto				
Isabella Strachan	Fettes College				from Greenside April 1872 servant ?
Jane Strachan	28 Jamaica Street				catechumen 1864
Georgina Sutherland	6 Dean Terrace		James C Brodie	no occupation	from Innerwick October 1873 servant ?
Mrs Mary Ann Sutherland	1 St Bernards Place				catechumen
Ann Syme	7 South Frederick Street				
<b>Mrs T Symington</b>	15 Fettes Row			no occupation	
Miss Symington	ditto				catechumen 1865
<b>Mr John Tawse</b>	11 Royal Terrace			WS (Tawse & Bonar)	elder
Mrs Tawse	ditto				
Miss Sarah Tawse	ditto				
Miss Christian Tawse	ditto				
Miss Margaret Tawse	ditto				
Mr John Tawse jr	ditto				
<b>Mr Taylor</b>	1 Market Court				
Mrs Taylor	ditto				
Miss Taylor	ditto				
Agnes Taylor	22 Hugh Miller Place				catechumen October 1866
Agnes Taylor	57 Noirthumberland Street		George S Keith	MD FRCP	from Jedburgh October 1872 servant ?
<b>Charles Taylor</b>	16 Hart Street				October 1861
Mrs Taylor	ditto				ditto
Christina Catherine Taylor	5 Lauriston Park	Normal student			



Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Mungo Temple</b>	25 Patriot Hall				
Mrs Temple	ditto				
<b>James Thomson</b>	20 Haddington Place			dealer in antique curiosities (no18)	
Mrs C F Thomson	ditto				
John Thomson	ditto				
James Thomson jr	ditto				
Adam Thomson	ditto				
Mary Thomson	11 Moray Place		J B Innes	WS (Mackenzie, Innes & Logan)	from Caddenfoot 1868 servant ?
Peter Thomson	2 Silvermills Cottage				catechumen April 1864
Robert Thomson	45 Fountainbridge				
James Tod	58 Thistle Street				from Abernethy October 1870
Alexander Traill	39 Brunswick Street				young communicant April 1871
John Traill	ditto				young communicant April 1872
<b>Mr Patrick Turnbull</b>	34 India Street			WS	
Mrs Turnbull	ditto				
Jane Turner	11 Ford Street				
Susan Urquhart	38 Fountainbridge				
<b>William Waddell</b>	20 Royal Circus	W S			
Mrs Waddell	ditto				
Charlotte Walker	4 Darlings Buildings				young communicant October 1872
Mrs Agnes Walls	15 Jamaica Street				from North Church, Stirling 1864
Mrs Warden	10 Clarendon Crescent				
<b>John Watson</b>	12 Pitt Street		William Watson	advocate	from High Church
Mrs Watson	ditto				ditto

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Robert Watson	19 India Place		P Simpson	french polisher	employee ?
Euphemia Watson	ditto				
Elizabeth Watt	44 Cumberland Lane				catechumen 1864
<b>Mr Waugh</b>	10 Jamaica Street				
Mrs Waugh	ditto				
Mary Waugh	ditto				
Miss White	19 Jamaica Street				
Mrs Helen White	5 St Colme Street		Mrs Urquhart	no occupation	from Glendevon April 1873
Margaret White	4 Church Street				
<b>Matthew Whitelaw</b>	4 Comely Bank				from St Bernard's
Mrs Whitelaw	ditto				ditto
<b>Mr Wight</b>	3 Clarence Place				catechumen April 1867
Mrs Wight	ditto				ditto
Catherine Wilkie	9 St Vincent Street		Miss Robertson	no occupation	servant ?
Elizabeth Will	16 Royal Circus		JW & J Mackenzie	WS	from Arbuthnot April 1871 servant ?
Jessie Wills	26 Alva Street		Miss Scott	no occupation	from London Road servant ?
<b>James Wilson</b>	56 India Place				from Kelton 1870
Mrs Wilson	ditto				ditto
Miss Jane Wilson	53 India Place				from Kelso 1864
<b>Dr James Winchester LL D</b>	42 Inverleith Row			deputy inspector general of hospitals	elder
Mrs Winchester	ditto				
Miss Wren	1 Murrayfield		James Wilson	Board of Manufactures & Fisheries	
<b>Mrs Wright</b>	7 Carlton Street			no occupation	

Name	Address	Occupation (from roll)	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Isabella Wright</b>	16 Jamaica Street	widow			from Liberton Parish October 1862
<b>James Young</b>	10 Clarence Street	rubber works			catechumen April 1867
Mrs Young	ditto				ditto
<b>James Young</b>	35 Jamaica Street				
Mrs Young	ditto				

## Appendix 2

## Free St George's New Communicants 1874-1905

(Names as at date of admission. Heads of households who are also members are shown in bold type.)

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
5 January 1874	Miss Annie Bannatyne	15 Landsdowne Crescent	<b>Peter Bannatyne</b>	assistant secretary National Bank	
	Miss Margaret Davidson	Woodcroft Colinton Road			
	Alexander Fraser	19 Upper Grove Street			
	Margaret Graham	45 Charlotte Square	<b>James Watson</b>	Scottish Provident Institute	servant ?
	Miss Helen Howden	20 Manor Place	<b>James Howden</b>	CA (Howden & Millison N St David Street )	
	Mr John Howden	ditto			
	Angus Lamond	4 Bedford Street			
	Miss Katie Macdonald	8 India Street	Miss Cossar	no occupation	servant?
	Mr Patrick Mackay	30 Howard Place	<b>James Wallace</b>	Adam, Sons & Co wool brokers 129-133 Constitution Street	
	John McConnel	Rose Street			
	Robert Sidey	21 Chester Street	<b>Charles Sidey</b>	no occupation	
	<b>William Smith</b>	20 North Bridge Street			
	Mrs Smith	ditto			
	Charles Taylor	26 Danube Street			
	George Taylor	10 Danube Street	<b>James Taylor</b>	London Union Assurance Society 7 N St David Street	
23 April 1874	Miss Clara Blackie	20 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>Miss Brown</b>	boarding and day school	boarder?
	Miss Emily Carson	ditto			ditto
	Miss Elizabeth Macintyre	ditto			ditto
	Miss R M Menzies	ditto			ditto

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Miss Ella Smith	20 Grosvenor Crescent			boarder?
	Miss M Davidson	Woodcroft Colinton Road			
	Miss N S Henry	29 Rutland Square	<b>John Henry</b>	SSC (solicitor)	
	Mr Alexander Keith	57 Northumberland Street	<b>George S Keith</b>	MD FRCP	
	Mr Richard Kennedy	8 Leven Terrace			
	Miss Catherine Macdonald	20 Manor Place	<b>James Howden</b>	CA (Howden & Milligan N St David Street)	
	Miss Eliza Macdonald	43 Melville Street	<b>Roderick Mackay Fraser</b>	lodgings	
	Miss E M Mackintosh	28 Walker Street	<b>Rev James Grant Mackintosh</b>		elder and session clerk
	Mr Thomas Maclean	37 East Crosscauseway			
	Miss Jessie Myrtle	10 St Bernards Crescent	<b>William Myrtle</b>	CA (agent for London Union Assurance Society 7 N St David Street)	
	Miss Jessie Smith	ditto			servant ?
	<b>Mr James Oag</b>	19 Brunswick Street		bootmaker	
	Mr Robert Rainie	Valleyfield Street			
	Mr J M Seaton	16 Douglas Terrace			
	Miss Jane Shiress	20 Nelson Street	<b>D S Shiress</b>	Solicitor & Notary Public	elder until the family moved to London May 1877
	Mr W Stewart	17 Howe Street			
	Mr Walter Strang jr	83 Great King Street	<b>Walter Strang</b>	teacher of music	leader of praise
	Miss Rose Taylor	10 Danube Street	<b>James Taylor</b>	no occupation	
	Mr Guthrie Watson	45 Charlotte Square	<b>James Watson</b>	Scottish Provident Institute	
	Mr James Watson jr	ditto			
	Miss L Wright	13 Ainslie Place	James Wright	no occupation	

<b>Date of Admission</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Head of Household</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Notes</b>
9 July 1874	Mr D G Cunningham	2 West Tollcross	Mrs Cunningham		
	Mr Douglas Maclagan	9 Royal Circus	<b>David Maclagan</b>	CA	elder
	Miss Annie Oliphant	4 Rosebery Crescent	<b>Thomas Oliphant</b>	teacher	
22 October 1874	James Aitken	2 George Place Pilrig (Leith Walk)			
	Miss Annie Campbell	75 Charlotte Street			
	Miss Margaret Campbell	ditto			
	Miss Mary Cowan	2 Montpelier	<b>William Cowan</b>	Cowan & Strachan	
	Miss M Davidson	Woodcroft Colinton Road			
	Mr James Mackenzie	14 Henderson Row	William Mackenzie	no occupation	
	Miss Margaret MacPherson	23 Grosvenor Street			
	George Morrison jr	School House Fountainbridge	<b>George Morrison</b>	teacher	Free Church School Agnes M Rennie also teacher
	Mr Andrew Murray	15 Grosvenor Crescent			
	Mr Charles Murray	ditto			
	Miss Maria Murray	ditto			
	Miss Pringle	21 Howe Street			
	Miss Mary Stuart	Melville House Portobello			
28 January 1875	Miss Katharine Henry	29 Rutland Square	<b>John Henry</b>	SSC 20 St Andrew Square	
	Mr Patrick Maxwell	75 Great King Street			
	Mr W Millar	15 Brougham Street			
	Mr Hugh Tod	16 Spittal Street			
28 April 1875	Elizabeth Brown	4 St Vincent Street			
	Miss Hall Chalmers	2 Grosvenor Crescent			
	Euphemia Dickson	19 West Catherine Place	<b>David Dickson</b>	David Dickson & Son	
	Mr William Dickson	23 Stafford Street	<b>Mrs Dickson</b>	lodgings	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Mrs Dunnet	5 Caledonian Road			
	Mr F Dyce Fraser	20 Chester Street	<b>Professor A C Fraser LL D</b>	Alexander Campbell (law & metaphysics Edinburgh University)	
	Christina Gouk	9 Palmerston Place	C H Millar	no occupation	servant ?
	Elizabeth Kinnear	8 Grindlay Street	William J Matheson	no occupation	servant ?
	Miss Johanna Matheson	25 Abercromby Place	Robert Matheson	Surveyor of HM Public Works Parliament Square	
	Gertrude Maxwell	4 Atholl Crescent	Mrs Inglis	lodgings	
	Duncan McPhee	3 Royal Circus			
	Mary Milligan	8 Coates Gardens	Frederic McConnel	no occupation	
	Mr Scott Moncrieff Penny	31 Queen Street			
	Isabella Smith	5 West Maitland Street	Miss Lucy Smellie	no occupation	
28 October 1875	Jane Crichton	5 Rutland Place	James Crichton	no occupation	
	David Dickson	23 Stafford Street	<b>Mrs Dickson</b>	lodgings	
	Margaret Dun	Morningside			
	Miss Henrietta Fallon	8 Gilmore Place	Rev A R Palmer	St John the Evangelist Princes Street (Episcopal)	servant ?
	<b>Miss Gellatley</b>	3 Gillespie Place		dressmaker	
	James Greene	17 Valleyfield Place			
	Alexander Gregory	14 Henderson Row			
	Robina Henderson	1 Randolph Cliff			
	Charles Johnston	19 Warriston Crescent	Mrs Couper	no occupation	
	Alexander Macdougall	9 Broughton Street			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	<b>John Macqueen</b>	26 Coates Gardens			
	Mrs Macqueen	ditto			
	E H Smith	18 Brougham Place	John Smith jr		
	Miss E J Miller	18 Gillespie Crescent	John N Dewar	commission agent	
	Elizabeth Veitch	5 Lauriston Park	William Veitch	no occupation	
<b>27 April 1876</b>	Maggie Alexander	4 Leven Terrace	Richard Alexander	draper, hosier & shirtmaker 467 Lawnmarket	baptised before admission
	Barbara Angus	20 Atholl Crescent	<b>Adam Rolland of Gask</b>	no occupation	servant ?
	Alexander Bonnieman	19 Henderson Row			
	Peter Hugh Brown	20 Livingston Place			
	Thomas Bennet Clark	10 Manor Place	<b>Bennet Clark</b>	no occupation	
	Miss Cooper	Drumdryan Leven Street			
	Barbara Innes	20 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>Miss Brown</b>	boarding & day school	boarder ?
	John Lewis Macandrew	20 Belgrave Crescent	<b>Mrs John Macandrew</b>	no occupation	
	Alexander Mackintosh	26 Lauriston Gardens			
	Constance Ada Maxwell	17 Walker Street	Misses Spears	no occupation	
	Charlotte Paterson	23 Magdala Crescent			
	Bessie Paul	St Agnes Viewforth	Mrs Paul No1 St Agnes	no occupation	
	James Walker Sidey	21 Chester Street	<b>Charles Sidey</b>	no occupation	
<b>October 1876</b>	Jane Aitken	2 St Cuthberts Place	James Aitken	cabinetmaker	
	Helen Brittain	11 Grindlay Street	James Brittain	no occupation	
	D Bennet Clark	10 Manor Place	Bennet Clark	no occupation	
	Eliza Dowie	21 Merchiston Terrace	Mrs Dowie	no occupation	
	Ann Elrick	18 Great Stuart Street	W Wotherspoon	SSC (Wotherspoon & Mack)	
	William Fairweather	11 Duncan Street (Drummond Place)			



Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Maria Fraser	20 Chester Street	<b>Professor A C Fraser</b>		
	John Christian Oliphant	4 Rosebery Crescent	Thomas Oliphant	teacher	
<b>25 January 1877</b>	Mary Campbell	20 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>Miss Brown</b>	boarding & day school	boarder?
	Lila Smeaton	20 Grosvenor Crescent			boarder ?
	John Graham	4 Caledonian Road			
	Thomas D Mackenzie	3 Grindlay Street	Alexander Mackenzie	no occupation	
	Marion Isabella Peddie	5 West Maitland Street			
<b>26 April 1877</b>	Margaret Anderson	Inverdorran Lodge West Coates	Misses Watson	no occupation	
	<b>Mrs Chaplin</b>	4 Thomas Street		ladies' nurse	
	Annie Thomson Douglas	27 Rutland Street	RM Douglas	solicitor HM Register House	
	Thomas R Fleming	16 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>J S Fleming</b>	cashier Royal Bank	
	Harriet Houston	14 Hope Street			
	Helen Houston	ditto			
	Frederick A Jelly	33 Dublin Street			
	Jane Leggat	52 Queen Street	<b>Alexander R Simpson MD</b>	Professor of Midwifery Edinburgh University	nephew and successor of James Young Simpson
	Jane Percival Matheson	25 Abercromby Place	Mrs Matheson	no occupation	
	Annie Morton	16 Caledonian Place			
	Alexander Seggie jr	33 Dublin Street	Alexander Seggie	engineer, printing-machine & press maker and importer of lithographic stones and material Broughton Market	
	Mary Shiress	20 Nelson Street	<b>D S Shiress</b>	solicitor	
	Mary Sidey	21 Chester Street	<b>Charles Sidey</b>	no occupation	
	Matthew Sinclair	233 Leith Walk	John Sinclair Mrs John Sinclair	no occupation	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Jane Smith	19 Charlotte Square	<b>T Grainger Stewart MD</b>	Professor of Practice of Physic Edinburgh University	elder servant ?
	Elizabeth Walker	17 Forbes Road	James Smith	wright and builder	servant ?
<b>25 October 1877</b>	<b>Alexandrina Balfour</b>	<b>20 Grosvenor Crescent</b>	<b>Miss Brown</b>	boarding and day school	boarder ?
	Mary Robertson	ditto			boarder ?
	Isabella Towers Clark	29 Walker Street	<b>Mrs Towers Clark</b>	no occupation	
	Christina Douglas	Magdalen Asylum	Mrs Milne	matron	
	Agnes Fleming	16 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>J S Fleming</b>	cashier Royal Bank	
	Hector Fleming	ditto			
	Samuel Martin	5 Walker Terrace	John H Jeffrey	cabinet maker	
	Patrick Murray	46 Charlotte Square	John Maitland Thomson	advocate	
	Jessie Robertson	116 Rose Street			
	Jessie Scougal	12 Leamington Terrace	Mrs Scougall	no occupation	
	William Septimus Scougall	ditto			
	James Robert Dunlop Smith	Serampore House 21 Napier Road	<b>George Smith LL D</b>	Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire (Indian Civil Service)	biographer(1881) of Alexander Duff, missionary to India
	Jeanie Sutherland	29 Dunrobin Place Glenogle Road	William Sutherland	no occupation	
	Lizzie Sutherland	ditto			
	Margaret H Thomson	Gibson Lodge Corstorphine	R Thomson	gardener	
<b>25 April 1878</b>	Isabella Marshall Auld	18 Grosvenor Crescent	Hugh Auld	W S 21 Thistle Street	
	William Bannerman	7 Clarendon Crescent	Mrs James Bannerman	no occupation	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Catherine Margaret Burns	9 Strathearn Road	William R Clapperton	manufacturer of cabinet furniture, carpets, upholsterers and general furniture, warehouseman, 59-60 Princes Street (works Greenside Place)	
	Barbara Cromarty	9 Brandfield Street			
	Leah Edwards	29 Walker Street	<b>Mrs Towers Clark</b>	no occupation	servant ?
	Grace Jervis	15 Panmure Street			
	Mary M Johnston Lewis	9 Ann Street	Mrs Mackinlay	no occupation	servant ?
	Margaret Macdougall	6 Atholl Crescent	A D Cockburn	no occupation	servant ?
	Alice Macandrew	20 Belgrave Crescent	<b>Mrs Macandrew</b>	no occupation	
	Alexandra MacIntosh	19 Chalmers Street	Mrs C C MacIntosh	no occupation	
	Charles Menzies	3 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>John Menzies</b>	John Menzies & Co.	
	Ella McGregor Mitchell	Free St George's Church			
	Alla Allardice Murray	Inver Polwarth Terrace	Mrs Murray	no occupation	
	Jane Myrtle	14 St Bernards Crescent	<b>William Myrtle</b>	CA	
	R C Robertson	22 Brougham Street	Miss Saunders	no occupation	
	William Smith	1 St Giles Street	Samuel Duncan	tailor	
	Mary Stainer Sprague	29 Buckingham Terrace	Thomas Bond Sprague	manager, Scottish Equitable Life Assurance Society	
<b>24 October 1878</b>	Frances Elizabeth Balfour	22 Rutland Street	Mrs Robert Balfour	no occupation	
	Edith Balfour	ditto			
	Helen Davidson	Woodcroft Colinton Road			
	Mary Jane Day	24 Gardners Crescent			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Elizabeth Dickson	23 Stafford Street			
	Hamilton Maxwell	Merchiston Lodge	Mrs Andrew Thomson	no occupation	
	Margaret Hill Meikle	20 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>Miss Brown</b>	boarding and day school	boarder ?
	Joseph Brown Smith	65 Torphichen Street			
	Elizabeth Yerbury	10 Dean Street			
<b>24 April 1879</b>	Margaret Bremner	7 Moray Place	Mrs Austin	no occupation	
	Bruce Patrick Chalmers	18 Atholl Crescent	Henry Bruce of Ederline	no occupation	
	Mary Carson	Aulgirth Lodge 3 Polwarth Terrace	Miss Carson	no occupation	
	Mary Daniels	28 Moray Place	Rt Hon George Young		servant ?
	Lindesay Davidson	23 Heriot Row	Miss Margaret Paterson	no occupation	
	David Fraser	34 Lady Menzies Place			
	Isabella Fraser	10 Albany Street	James L Mansfield	advocate	servant ?
	John Charles B Geddes	8 Douglas Crescent	G H Geddes M E	mining engineer (J & G H Geddes)	
	Margaret Mackintosh Gray	6 Howe Street			
	Holmes Ivory	6 Lennox Street	<b>Holmes Ivory</b>	W S (J & A Peddie and Ivory)	
	Helen Keith	2 North Charlotte Street	Thomas Keith	MD FRCSE	
	Myra Macandrew	20 Belgrave Crescent	<b>Mrs John MacAndrew</b>	no occupation	
	Lachlan Macdonald	19 Manor Place	<b>E Archibald Stuart Gray of Gray &amp; Kinfauns</b>		elder, became 15 <sup>th</sup> Earl of Moray in 1895
	Lewis Gordon Mackintosh	28 Walker Street	<b>Rev James G Mackintosh</b>		elder and Session Clerk
	William S MacLagan	9 Royal Circus	<b>David MacLagan</b>	accountant	
	Isobel Menzies	3 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>John Menzies</b>	John Menzies & Co	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Mary Ann Nelson	15 Manor Place	Misses Moncrieff		
	Robert Trail Omond	43 Charlotte Square	<b>R Omond</b>	MD FRCSE	elder and Session Clerk
	Mary Seggie	33 Dublin Street	<b>Alexander Seggie</b>	manufacturer	
	Isabel Martha Smith	Napier Road	<b>George Smith LL.D</b>	Indian Civil Service	
	Mary Ann Souter	21 Pitt Street	Robert R & John P Souter	architects (Dundas Street)	
<b>23 October 1879</b>	Isabella Campbell	2 Gardners Crescent			
	Jane Mackenzie	67 York Place	William Taylor	MD	
	Augustus James Mackintosh	28 Walker Street	<b>Rev James Grant Mackintosh</b>		
	Susan MacIntyre	20 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>Miss Brown</b>	boarding and day school	boarder ?
	Isabella McKirdy	ditto			boarder ?
	Laura Smith	ditto			boarder ?
	Jessie Moir	8 Manor Place	William Patterson	upholsterer, cabinetmaker, undertaker, house carpenter and licensed appraiser 10 Queensferry Street (works Dalry Road)	servant ?
	R W Renton	29 North Bruntsfield Place			
	Christina Scott	20 North Mansionhouse Road			
	Maggie Sim	16 London Street			
	Maggie Wilson Smith	8 India Street	Miss Cossar	no occupation	servant ?
	Elizabeth Thomson	Gibson Lodge Corstorphine	R Thomson	gardener	
	Catherine Walker	6 Howe Street	James Walker	linen draper (35 George Street)	
	Thomas Wood	8 Dryden Street			
<b>22 April 1880</b>	Elizabeth Arnott	15 Atholl Terrace	Joseph Beattie	no occupation	servant ?
	Helen Campbell	3 Hermitage Place	Donald Bain	no occupation	servant ?

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Mary S Carse	22 Gillespie Crescent			
	Hannah B Crichton	13 St Bernards Crescent	James Crichton	goldsmith (Hamilton Crichton & Co 41 George Street)	
	Thomas St Clair Davidson	Woodcroft Colinton Road			
	Grace Mary Duke	45 Frederick Street			
	Christina Fraser	11 Manor Place	Miss McMicking	no occupation	servant ?
	Alice Mary Henry	29 Rutland Square	<b>John Henry</b>	SSC (Henry & Scott 20 St Andrew Square)	
	Agnes Hutchison	4 Grosvenor Street	Mrs Hutchison	no occupation	
	Mary S Ireland	16 St Bernard Street			
	Kate E Johnston	24 Middle Arthur Place			
	Edith Kinloch	20 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>Miss Brown</b>	boarding & day school	boarder ?
	John Menzies	3 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>John Menzies</b>	John Menzies & Co	
	Cecilia Murray	15 Grosvenor Crescent	Donald Beith	WS (Murray, Beith and Murray)	
	Elizabeth Nelson	27 Drumsheugh Gardens			
	Helen Sarah Paton	29 Frederick Street	Robert Paton	baker (33 Rose Street late A Tait)	
	Catherine Sutherland	21 Rosebank Cottages			
	Barbara Wallace	2 Magdala Place	<b>Miss Simson</b>	boarding school	boarder ?
	Ada Jane Warden	5 Greenhill Place	Misses Pringle	no occupation	servant ?
<b>26 October 1880</b>	Elizabeth Mary Alexander	4 Leven Terrace	Richard Alexander	draper, hosier and shirtmaker 467 Lawnmarket	baptised before admission
	Mary Buchan Dowie	21 Merchiston Terrace			
	Robina Elizabeth Falinn	26 Bell Place			
	Jessie Macdonald	110 Rose Street			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Frederick William Martin	19 Chester Street	<b>John Martin</b>	WS	
	Mary Mackenzie Smith	21 Napier Road	<b>George Smith LL D</b>	Indian Civil Service	
<b>28 April 1881</b>	Elizabeth Easton	3 Torphichen Street	Misses Wood		servant ?
	Grace Fleming	38 Manor Place	<b>J B Fleming</b>	MD	
	Alfred W Johnston	31 Nelson Street			
	Margaret Leith	20 Caledonian Road			
	James Dick Peddie	33 Buckingham Terrace	John Dick Peddie	RSA (artist)	
	WJ Woodman Smith	1 St Giles Street			
	Robert Henderson Wisely	Lorretto			teacher ?
	Jane Helen Wright	7 Chester Street	John Law Mrs William Law	W&G Law	servant ?
<b>27 October 1881</b>	Janet Aitken	5 Atholl Place			
	Helen Ballingall	6 Oxford Terrace	Thomas Bouch	civil engineer (111 George Street)	designer of Tay Bridge which collapsed on 28 December 1879 died early 1880
	Elizabeth Fleming	16 Grosvenor Crescent	<b>J S Fleming</b>	cashier Royal Bank	
	Jeanie Gossip	3 Chalmers Crescent			
	Elizabeth Irvine	17 Napier Road			
	D A McLarty	47 Cumberland Street			
	Jane McDowall	25 Rosebank Cottages			
	William Myrtle jr	14 St Bernards Crescent	<b>William Myrtle</b>	CA	
	Jessie Paton	2 Stafford Street			
	Marion Simpson	20 Grosvenor Street	<b>Miss Brown</b>	boarding & day school	boarder ?
	Hunter Smith	21 Napier Road	<b>George Smith</b>	Indian Civil Service	
	John Sutherland	9 Orwell Place			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Claud R Watson	45 Charlotte Square	<b>James Watson</b>	Scottish Provident Institute	
<b>27 April 1882</b>	Evelyn J Henry	29 Rutland Square	John Henry	SSC (Henry & Scott 20 St Andrews Square	
	Lizzie Hope	23u Grove Street	Miss Dudgeon	no occupation	servant ?
	Catherine Hopkin	1 Grosvenor Street	Thomas Gordon	manager Union Bank of Scotland Ltd, agent North British Mercantile Insurance	servant ?
	Norman M Hunter	6 Belford Park	William Hunter	book binder (North West Thistle Street Lane)	
	Isabella Macdougall	11 Moray Place	John B Innes	WS (Mackenzie, Innes & Logan 28 Queen Street)	servant ?
	Sarah MacLeod	23 Lauriston Gardens			
	Ann Munro	5 Rutland Square			
	Jane Scott	3 East Regent Street			
	Annie Wilson	19 Palmerston Place	Charles Edward Wilson LLD MA	HM Senior Inspector of Schools	servant ?
	Mary Wright	7 Chester Street	W C Wright	no occupation	
<b>26 October 1882</b>	Agnes Helen Blaikie	7 Atholl Place	Mrs Robert Lyell	no occupation	
	William Buchan	6 Rothesay Place	Mrs Buchan	no occupation	
	Mary Morrison Campbell	51 Lauriston Place	Mrs Buchanan	no occupation	servant ?



Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Jane Jackson Deas	5 Keir Street	James Deas	lithographer & engravers (J Deas & Son North West Thistle Street Lane)	
	Kate Deas	ditto			
	Lizzie Menzies	10 Gilmore Place	Mrs James Cousland	no occupation	servant ?
<b>28 April 1883</b>	Jane Cromarty	25 Coates Gardens	Mrs Sadleir	no occupation	servant ?
	Agnes Adair Ferguson	21 Manor Place	William Ferguson of Kilmundy	no occupation	
	Eliza McLean Hunter	6 Belford Park	William Hunter	bookbinder	
	Elizabeth Stewart Husband	28 Clarence Street	William Husband	MD FRCSE	
	Helen Hutchison	4 Grosvenor Street	Mrs Hutchison	no occupation	
	Christina Jane Liddell	100 Gilmore Place	John Liddell	no occupation	
	Isabella Little	3 Lynedoch Place	Mrs Tennent	no occupation	servant ?
	Mina Mackay	9 Darnaway Street	Russell Elliot Wood George J Wood	MB CM WS	servant ?
	Fanny Murray	15 Grosvenor Crescent	Donald Beith	WS (Murray, Beith & Murray)	
	James CFA Brown	3 Gloucester Place			
	James Roderick Burns	11 Torphichen Street	Mrs James D Burns	no occupation	
	Hugh Macleod Burns	ditto			
	James A Craig	4 Bernard Terrace	Mrs James Craig	no occupation	
	Alexander Falconer	26 Bell Place Stockbridge	Mrs Falconer	no occupation	
	David Bryce Thomson	25 Belgrave Crescent	H T Thomson	agent Clydesdale Bank 271 High Street	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>5 October 1883</b>	Charlotte Bell Bennet	118 Lauriston Place	James Bennet	no occupation	
	Janet Hastings	23 Grosvenor Street	Miss Dudgeon	no occupation	
	Alice M Edmonston	136 George Street			
	Annie Katherine Dalmahoy McLandish	27 Drumsheugh Gardens	<b>John M McCandlish</b>	WS (manager Scottish Union & National Insurance Co.	elder
	Margaret McDowall	8 Church Lane			
	Edith MacAndrew	20 Belgrave Crescent			
	Helen Spittal	3 Forres Street	George Watson	advocate	servant ?
	Jane Macleod	4 Leven Terrace			
	David Wallace	14 Spottiswoode Street	Mrs Harper		
	Dr A H Barbour	50 Queen Street	Neil Inglis Kerr	apartments	
	<b>R M Douglas</b>	49 Dick Place		SSC	
	James Taylor	4 Panmure Place			
	James Walker	6 Howe Street	<b>James Walker</b>	linen draper	
	Alexander Grainger Stewart	19 Charlotte Square	<b>T Grainger Stewart</b>	MD Professor of the Practice of Medicine	elder
<b>24 April 1884</b>	Gertrude Kirk	2 North Charlotte Street	Thomas Keith	MD FRCSE	servant ?
	Peter Purves	26 Lauriston Gardens	James Purves	bookseller & stationer 19 Bruntsfield Place	
	Hector Wallace Smith	30 Buckingham Terrace	J Duncan Smith	SSC (Duncan Smith & McLaren)	
	<b>William Burley</b>	33 Lauriston Gardens		chemist (137 George Street)	seatholder for many years but never in membership
	Mrs Burley	ditto			member of Congregational Church before her marriage

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>23 October 1884</b>	Mary Margaret Gossip	3 Chalmers Crescent	<b>Robert Gossip</b>		The Misses Gossip were proprietors of a girls' boarding school
	Elizabeth Catherine Mackenzie	44 Drumsheugh Gardens	Mrs Mackenzie		
	Jessie Allan Crowe	3 Meadow Place	J D Crowe	teacher	
	Ina Scott Moncrieff	19 Lynedoch Place	John S Moncrieff	CA (16 South Charlotte Street)	
	Mary Peacock	9 Atholl Crescent	John A Atkinson	apartments	
	James Arthur Samuel Barrett	12 Eglinton Crescent	Mrs Barrett		
<b>20 April 1885</b>	Maggie Morgan	43 Manor Place	Matthew M Bell	WS (Dalglish & Bell 22 Coates Crescent)	servant?
	Anna Fleming	14 Manor Place	<b>JB Fleming</b>	MD	elder
<b>27 June 1885</b>	Jane Henderson	21 Coates Gardens	Miss McMicking	no occupation	servant ?
	Jessie Sutherland	12 Great Stuart Street	Donald McKenzie Mrs Mckenzie	WS (35 Castle Street)	servant ?
	Edith Catherine Stewart	19 Charlotte Square	<b>T Grainger Stewart</b>	Professor of Medicine	
	Mary Brittain	31 Lothian Road	James Brittain	no occupation	
	Andrew Williamson	6 Moray Place	R C Williamson	no occupation	
	William Williamson	ditto			
	Ferris N Taboor	34 East Preston Street			
	William Davidson	Woodcroft Colinton			
	William Monteith	20 Cumberland Street	Mrs Monteith	tobacconist & stationers (6 Claremont Place)	
	William Alexander Balfour	22 Rutland Street	R J Balfour	no occupation	

<b>Date of Admission</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Head of Household</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Notes</b>
<b>22 October 1885</b>	Catherine Cadell Bell	4 Buckingham Terrace	<b>Dr Francis Cadell Mrs Cadell</b>	MB FRCSE surgeon (20 Charlotte Square)	
	Amy Charlotte Pringle	27 Rutland Square	John Pringle	MD deputy inspector general of hospitals	
	Ethel Margaret Mackintosh	23 Grosvenor Street	Miss Dudgeon	no occupation	
	Jean Isabella Erskine Bell	2 Melville Crescent	<b>Joseph Bell</b>	FRCS lecturer in surgery	elder, son of <b>Benjamin Bell</b>
	Cecil Craigie Bell (female)	ditto			
	Frances Helen Thomson	25 Belgrave Crescent	<b>H T Thomson</b>	agent Clydesdale Bank (271 High Street)	
	Martha Frances Liddell	100 Gilmore Place	John Liddell	no occupation	
	Janet Scott	14 Springwell Place Dalry	Peter McNaughton	no occupation	
	Mina Maria Dunlop	26 Alva Street	Miss Scott	no occupation	servant ?
	Ada Susan Webster Fraser	13 Moray Place	John Fraser	no occupation	
	Jane Helen Cameron	10 Graham Street	John Cameron	coal merchant & commission agent	
	Catherine Anderson	58 Melville Street	John Anderson	apartments	
	Elizabeth Hughes	ditto			
	Charles Lyon	61 Dalry Road			
	George Wemyss Renton	1 Alva Street	? J Kerr	apartments	
	Colin Moffat	14 Panmure Place	Miss Walker	no occupation	
	William Fletcher	31 India Street			
	Henry Brown	19 Chalmers Street	Mrs C C Mackintosh	no occupation	
<b>22 April 1886</b>	Margaret Payne	37 Gillespie Crescent	Miss Payne	teacher of music	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Martha Broadhead Evans	24 Rutland Square			
	Mary Helen Evans	ditto			
	Charlotte Catherine Gossip	4 Blantyre Terrace	<b>Misses Gossip</b>	private boarding school for young ladies (house 3 Chalmers Crescent)	
	Elizabeth Macartney Wallace	58 Palmerston Place	General John Bayley CB		servant ?
	Eliza D Smith	12 Caledonian Place	<b>Misses Smith</b>	dressmakers	
	Ann Macaulay	13 Learmonth Terrace	Patrick Turnbull	CA (31 Princes Street)	servant ?
	Maggie Douglas	167 Rose Street			
	George Loraine Ken Pringle	27 Rutland Square	<b>John Pringle</b>	MD deputy inspector general of hospitals	
	Donald George Sutherland	13 Marchmont Crescent			
	William Livingston	14 Ann Street	Mrs Livingston	no occupation	
	George Robert Livingston	ditto			
	James M Johnston	9 Ann Street	Mrs Mackinlay	no occupation	
	Thomas Anthony Bell	14 Comely Bank			
	Edward John McCandlish	27 Drumsheugh Gardens	<b>John McCandlish</b>	W S	
<b>28 October 1886</b>	Harriet Isabella Roger	19 Dundas Street			
	Catherine E Campbell	12 Thirlestane Road	Miss Wallace	no occupation	servant ?
	Agnes Jane Williamson	6 Moray Place	R C Williamson	no occupation	
	Janetta Colquhoun Smith	Napier Road	<b>George Smith</b>	Indian Civil Service	
	Elizabeth Rennie	22 India Street	Mrs Rennie	apartments	
	John Rennie	ditto			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Frederick Green	22 Caldonian Crescent	John Sutherland	bootmaker (25 & 62 Morrison Street and 15 West Newington)	employee ?
	Mrs Barbara Green	ditto			
	Barbara Somerville	52 Melville Crescent	<b>Rev Alexander Whyte</b>	minister Free St George's	servant
	Jessie Currie	21 Clarendon Crescent	Adolph Robinow	Consul for the German Empire (office 44 Constitution Street)	servant
	Hill Hamilton Barrett	12 Eglinton Crescent	Mrs Barrett	no occupation	
	Ewan James Cuthbertson	1 Randolph Place	John Cuthbertson	no occupation	
	William Dennison	1 Panmure Place	Alexander Dennison	teacher	
	George David Stewart Sandeman	9 Westhall Gardens	Mrs J C Todd	no occupation	
<b>21 April 1887</b>	Mrs Pearson	2 Rosebank Cottages			
	Christina Grieve	9 Eglinton Crescent	James Craik	WS 66 Queen Street	
	Jeanie Deborah Fairlie	13 Great Stuart Street	George Dunlop	WS	servant ?
	Jane Grieve	ditto			ditto
	Anne Cormack	3 Magdala Crescent	Miss Murdoch	no occupation	servant ?
	Catherine Baillie	32 Heriot Row	The Hon Lord Deas (Sir George) of Pittendreich, Lasswade	no occupation	servant ?
	Grace Mackenzie	4 Drumsheugh Gardens	Mrs T C Scott	no occupation	servant?
	Margaret Hardie	ditto			ditto
	Jane Drysdale	18 North Richmond Street			
	Christina Sutherland	17 Ann Street	William Sutherland	no occupation	
	Louisa Sutherland	13 Marchmont Crescent			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Henry Hutchison	4 Grosvenor Street	Mrs Hutchison	no occupation	
	James Hay Deas	5 Keir Street	James Deas	lithographer	
	<b>William Stewart Morton</b>	The Milestone Merchiston Bank (10 Merchiston Bank Terrace)		WS Morton & Co decorative furniture and tapestry manufacturer Albert Works Tynecastle	
<b>29 October 1887</b>	Maggie Shiel Beattie	9 Lonsdale Terrace	James Beattie	Supervisor Inland Revenue Office	
	Annie Sutherland	13 Warriston Crescent	Mrs Gillon	no occupation	
	Mary Harriet Simson	13 Grosvenor Street	<b>Robert Simson</b>	HM Bengal Civil Service	elder, Session Clerk
	Alexander Buchan jr	72 Northumberland Street	Alexander Buchan	Secretary, Scottish Meteorological Society 122 George Street	
	James D Matheson	2 Blackwood Crescent			
	Walter Dickson	23 Forrest Road			
	Robert M Grainger Stewart	19 Charlotte Square	<b>T Grainger Stewart</b>	Professor of Medicine	
	James M Grant	24 Valleyfield Street			
<b>18 March 1888</b>	Jeanie Mundell	The Lodge 2 Forbes Road	<b>Misses Gossip</b>	private school proprietors	boarder ?
	Laura Bell	4 Buckingham Terrace	<b>R C Bell</b>	WS 1 North Charlotte Street CA	elder, son of Benjamin, brother of Joseph Bell
	Mary Elizabeth Scott Moncrieff	19 Lynedoch Place	John S Moncrieff		
	Rachel Stevenson Jeffrey	14 Randolph Crescent	David Jeffrey	no occupation	
	Catherine Graham	10 Forres Street	John Wilson	advocate	servant ?

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Bessie Crowe	3 Meadow Place	John Crowe	teacher	
	Jeanette May Hanna	7 Magdala Crescent	<b>T Chalmers Hanna</b>	CA (Wood & Hanna)	grandson of Thomas Chalmers
	Ann Chalmers Hanna	ditto			
	Agnes Grainger Stewart	19 Charlotte Square	<b>T Grainger Stewart</b>	Professor of Medicine	
	Margaret Edith Stuart Nelson	St Leonards House		Nelson Publishers	
	Isabella Macdougall	9 Brougham Street	Mrs Macdougall	no occupation	
	Hellen Gray	13 Stafford Street	Mrs Bayne	Lady Superintendent	Nurses Home
	Annie Macdonald	13 Charlotte Square	George H M Thoms of Aberlemno	advocate	servant ?
	George McMicking Torrance Thomson	25 Belgrave Crescent	<b>H T Thomson</b>	agent Clydesdale Bank	
	Harry Torrance Thomson	ditto			
	Samual (sic) Davidson	153 Warrender Park Road	William Davidson	no occupation	
	Henry Davidson	ditto			
	Arthur Gossip	The Lodge 2 Forbes Road	<b>Misses Gossip</b>	private school proprietors	
<b>22 October 1888</b>	Helen Manson	14 Manor Place	<b>J B Fleming MD</b>	deputy inspector-general of hospitals	elder servant ?
	Katie Rodger	19 Dundas Street			
	Mary McClansburgh	12 Drumsheugh Gardens	Alexander Low	advocate	servant ?
	Jessie Robertson	27 Alva Street	Miss Gamgee of Florence Joseph Gamgee	teacher of music	servant ?
	Mary A A Dennison	1 Panmure Place	Alexander Dennison	teacher	



Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Charles Aitchison Smith	Serampore House	<b>George Smith</b>	Indian Civil Service	
	William Broadwood	Dean Bridge Cab Office			listed at 6 Cheyne Street in alphabetical index. No occupation
	William Glasford Walker	6 Howe Street	James Walker	linen draper 41 George Street	
<b>27 January 1889</b>	Henry Simson	11 Palmerston Place	<b>David Simson</b>	Bengal Civil Service	
	Mary Simson	ditto			
	Robert Simson	ditto			
<b>24 March 1889</b>	Helen Margaret Livingston	14 Ann Street	Mrs G K Livingston		
	Sarah G Johnson	9 Ann Street	Mrs Mackinlay		
	Alice Helen Grainger Stewart	19 Charlotte Square	<b>T Grainger Stewart</b>	Professor of Medicine	
	Sarah Jane Carson	9 Polwarth Terrace			
	Mary Elinor Nelson	St Leonards	Nelsons publishers		
	Mary Farquharson	5 Howard Place			
	Mary Crichton	16 Palmerston Place	James Crichton	J C Crichton & Co jewellers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, watch makers 47 George Street	
	Nellie Ferrier	4 Grosvenor Street	<b>J S Ferrier</b>	publisher 24 St Giles Street	
	Isabella Weir	9 Chester Street	Mrs A Davidson	no occupation	servant ?
	Mary Beattie	9 Lonsdale Terrace	James Beattie	supervisor Inland Revenue Office	
	William Johnston	2 Murdoch Terrace			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Henry John Forbes Simson	13 Grosvenor Street	<b>Robert Simson</b>	Bengal Civil Service	
	Alexander Rennie	22 India Street	Mrs Rennie	apartments	
	Houston Stewart Wallace	34 Palmerston Place	Robert Little	no occupation	
	Robert Anstruther Paton	32 Dundas Street	R A Paton Mrs Paton	baker & confectioner 33 George Street and 33 Rose Street	
	Adam Renwick	3 Sciennes Hill Place			
	Andrew Geissler	100 Lady Lawson Street	Richard Geissler	teacher of music	
<b>20 October 1889</b>	Maggie Simpson	10 Forres Street	John Wilson	advocate	servant ?
	Grace Rose Pringle	27 Rutland Square	<b>John Pringle MD</b>	deputy inspector general of hospitals	
	Charlotte Reid	2 Caledonian Place	Alexander Reid	no occupation	
	Jessie Farquharson	2 Hampton Place	A G Farquharson	carpet, floorcloth and linoleum warehouse 100 Lothian Road	
	Mary Jane Alexander	2 Buckingham Terrace	Alex Scott Ireland	SSC Fyfe, Ireland and Mackay 43 Hanover Street	servant ?
	Janet Mitchinson	24 Bread Street			
	Elsie Fraser	38 India Street	Mrs Hargreaves	no occupation	servant ?
	Nellie Affleck	40 Coates Gardens	Miss Smail	no occupation	servant ?
	John Ross	4 Greenhill Terrace	John Brown Young	civil engineer North British Railway	
	James Young Simpson	52 Queen Street	<b>A R Simpson MD</b>	Professor of Midwifery	
<b>21 April 1890</b>	Ethel Hanna	7 Magdala Crescent	<b>T Chalmers Hanna</b>	CA	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Ann Hately	5 Admiral Terrace	Mrs William Reid	no occupation	
	Emily Ann Young	16 Randolph Crescent			
	James N Noble	115 Gilmore Place			
	Henry B Anderson	94 Lothian Road			
<b>19 January 1891</b>	Euphemia Maude Thomson	25 Belgrave Crescent	<b>H T Thomson</b>	agent Clydesdale Bank	
	Arthur Thomson	ditto			
	Charles William Thomson	ditto			
	Jane Dennison	1 Panmure Place	Alexander Dennison	teacher	
	Janet Jeffrey	14 Randolph Crescent	David Jeffrey	no occupation	
	Emily Jeffrey	ditto			
	Isabel Mary Simson	13 Grosvenor Street	<b>Robert Simson</b>	Bengal Civil Service	
	Janet Matheson	2 Blackwood Crescent			
	Maggie Macdonald	5 Atholl Crescent	Miss Begg	no occupation	servant ?
	Frances Blaikie	11 Johnstone Terrace	Rev Charles E Bowden	Episcopal Church (St Columba's Mission House)	servant ?
	Thomas McGill	11 Hope Street (business premises employee ?)		John Musket & Son, house agents, funeral undertakers, auctioneers and valuers	house 1 Walker Street
<b>20 April 1891</b>	Bessie Turnbull Hogg	18 Ann Street	Robert Hogg	grain merchant & insurance agent	
	Isabella Thallon Hogg	ditto			
	Alexandrina Manson	91 Rose Street	<b>Miss A Manson</b>	straw hat cleaner and dyer	
	Mary Stewart Macdougall	9 Brougham Street	Mrs Macdougall	no occupation	
	Maggie Ann Fraser	27 Rutland Square	Mrs Hargrave	no occupation	servant ?
	Elizabeth Munro	252 Morrison Street		Blackley's Sunbury Laundry	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Williamina Muckart	1 Randolph Place	Mrs Halket	no occupation	servant ?
	Jeanie Gray Hately	5 Admiral Terrace Viewforth	<b>W Hately</b>	teacher of music (6 North Charlotte Street)	
	Charles James Orr	19 Rutland Street	Mrs H Campbell	apartments	
	Thomas Frederick Dymock	1 Manor Place			
	James Arthur Watson	3 Forres Street			
<b>22 June 1891</b>	Elizabeth Agnes Hay Monteith	20 Cumberland Street	William Monteith Mrs Monteith	no occupation	
	Helen Mary Watson	3 Forres Street			
	Christine Grace Mundell	The Lodge Forbes Road	<b>Misses Gossip</b>	boarding & day school for young ladies	boarder ?
	Barbara Jane Mundell	ditto			ditto
<b>19 October 1891</b>	Jessie Morton	7 Polwarth Crescent	John Morton	Scott & Co wine merchants 41-43 Charlotte Street Leith	
	Robert Morton	ditto			
	Lizzie Farquhar	10 Coates Gardens	Miss Mackay	no occupation	servant ?
	Ellen Crowe	3 Meadow Place	J D Crowe	teacher	
	Kate Constance Smith	Serampore House	<b>George Smith</b>	Indian Civil Service	
	Isabel Howden	25 Melville Street	<b>CRA Howden James Howden</b>	advocate CA (Howden & Molleson 8 York Place)	
	George Simpson	52 Queen Street	<b>A R Simpson</b>	Professor of Midwifery	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>23 March 1892</b>	Edith Lawrie	5 Moray Place	James D Lawrie	Lawrie & Kerr stockbrokers & agents Phoenix Fire Insurance 4 St Andrews Square	
	Alice Mary Lawrie	ditto			
	Maggie Drysdale	118 Potterrow			
	Jane Taylor	St Helens Colinton Road	Alexander Charles Kerr		servant ?
	Anne Gertrude Smith	Serampore House	<b>George Smith</b>	Indian Civil Service	
	Eleanor Lorimer	9 Gloucester Place	J C Lorimer	advocate	
	Evelyn Anne Simson	13 Grosvenor Street	<b>Robert Simson</b>	HM Bengal Civil Service	
	Marianne Geissler	100 Lady Lawson Street	Richard Geissler	teacher of music	
	James Brunton Blaikie	5 Pitt Street			
	William Sutherland	2 West Newington Place	Mrs Jardine	no occupation	
	William Anderson	35 Buccleuch Place			
<b>20 June 1892</b>	Elizabeth Dickson Dennison	1 Panmure Place	<b>Mrs Alex Dennison</b>	no occupation	widow
	Cecelia Stuart Dennison	ditto			
	Jessie Susan Ferguson	8 India Street	Miss Douglas	no occupation	servant ?
	Bessie Fyfe	ditto			ditto
	Margaret Lamont	The Lodge 2 Forbes Road	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Amy Sangster	2 Portgower Place	Andrew Fleming	SSC	servant ?
	Robert Hutchison	4 Grosvenor Street	Mrs Hutchison	no occupation	
	James M Burns	62 Queen Street	Misses Laing	teachers of music, vocal and pianoforte	
<b>24 October 1892</b>	Isabella Walton	22 Dean Park Crescent	<b>W A Hartley</b>	WS (Duncan & Hartley)	servant ?
	Elizabeth Lamont	28 Rutland Square	Misses Anderson	apartments	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Agnes Caldwell Watson	The Lodge 2 Forbes Road	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Isabella Louisa Bell	4 Buckingham Terrace	<b>Robert C Bell</b>	WS (1 North Charlotte Street)	
	Elizabeth Moinet Gray	26 Douglas Crescent	Mrs Robert Gray	no occupation	
	Marie Josephine Coraline Bonnez	81 Gilmore Place			
	Andrew Wilson	3 North Charlotte Street			
<b>23 January 1893</b>	Stella Maud Smith	30 Buckingham Terrace	J Duncan Smith	SSC (Duncan Smith & Maclaren)	
	Maggie Murray	ditto			servant ?
	Maggie Gould Ross	5 Belford Terrace	Mrs Ross		
	Ellen Leitch Dickson	45 Frederick Street			
	Betty Mackenzie Hanna	7 Magdala Crescent	<b>T Chalmers Hanna</b>	CA (48 Frederick Street)	
	William Clark Baxter	2 Tay Street			
	Hugh J Wells	81 St Stephens Street			
<b>20 March 1893</b>	Miss Winnie Boyd	The Lodge 2 Forbes Road	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	teacher ?
	Miss Jessie Carshaw	ditto			ditto
	Mr John Ferrier	20 Blantyre Crescent	<b>John Scott Ferrier</b>	publisher (30 St Marys Street)	
	Mr Angus Ferrier	ditto			
<b>23 October 1893</b>	Mary Anna Collins	2 Albyn Place			
	Ella Davis	4 Walker Street	Mrs Hay	apartments	
	Mary Christina Simson	13 Grosvenor Street	<b>Robert Simson</b>	Bengal Civil Service	
	Effie Paterson	ditto			servant ?
<b>22 January 1894</b>	William Husband jr	4 Royal Circus	William Husband	MD FRCSE	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	George Craig jr	20 Downfield Place			
	Alexander Williamson	7 Kew Terrace	A T Williamson	sub-editor <i>Timber Trades Journal</i>	
	John Doull	7 South Clerk Street			
	Harry M D Watson	2 Stafford Street			
	David Livingstone Honeyman	6 Gladstone Terrace	Mrs James Thomson	no occupation	
	Fraser Macbeth	6 Murdoch Terrace			
<b>19 March 1894</b>	Elizabeth Margaret Saddler	23 Eglinton Terrace	W S Davidson	general manager, New Zealand & Australian Land Co (54 Castle Street)	servant ?
	Mary Barrett	12 Eglinton Crescent	Mrs Barrett	no occupation	servant ?
	Margaret Marion Ross	Falconhall Morningside	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Lizzie Badenoch	18 Rosebank Cottages	Alexander Badenoch	no occupation	
	Annie Grossett	Daniel Stewarts College			private school for boys
	Christina Fowler	153 Warrender Park Road			
	Nellie Grant	21 Cathcart Place			
	Jessie Pringle Johnstone	22 Caledonian Road	John Johnstone	no occupation	
	Mr R Doull	1 Deanbank Terrace	Mrs J Armour	no occupation	
	David Strachan	5 Randolph Place	Thomas Strachan	surveyor	
<b>18 June 1894</b>	John Crowe	3 Meadow Place	John Crowe	teacher	
	Andrew Deas	35 Wrights Houses Brunsfield Links	James Blackie	no occupation	
	James M Galloway	6 Warrender Park Terrace	J W Galloway	no occupation	
	Miss Maconachie	74 St Stephen Street			62-78 Edinburgh Northern District Co-op Society
	Isabella Loudon	15 Woodbine Terrace Leith	David Loudon	no occupation	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Harriet Harris	53 Manor Place	Malcolm McNeill	secretary, Board of Supervision (125 George Street)	servant ?
<b>22 October 1894</b>	Annie Wilhelmina Morton	7 Polwarth Terrace	John Morton	Albert Works Co decorative furniture manufacturers Tynecastle	
	Elizabeth Stirling Norrie	11 Belford Terrace	Robert Legget	R Legget & Son morocco, roan, parchment and tympan manufacturers, skinners, tanners and wool merchants Water of Leith	
	Alice Farquharson	39 Comely Bank Avenue			
	Helen McFie	1 Glengyle Terrace			
	Robert McFie	ditto			
	Jane Smith Hogg	18 Ann Street	Robert Hogg	grain merchant & insurance agent	
<b>21 January 1895</b>	Mary Chapman	4 Moray Place	Robert Stewart	no occupation	servant ?
	Annabel Mackenzie	Falconhall	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Margaret Wilson	11 Ainslie Place	Patrick Blair	WS (office no.19)	servant ?
	William Fraser	42 Melville Street	William Stuart Fraser	WS (Fraser, Stodart & Ballingall 16 Castle Street)	
<b>20 March 1895</b>	Ella Gardiner	Falconhall, Morningside	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Grace Lamont	ditto			ditto
	Henrietta Thomson	ditto			ditto
	Charlotte Locke	ditto			ditto
	Amy Mackay	ditto			ditto
	Agnes Sloan	ditto			ditto



Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Ellen Husband	4 Royal Circus	William Husband	MD FRCSE	
	Lizzie Grant	Alexander Hotel 124 Princes Street			
	Alexandrina Sinclair	24 Primrose Terrace	William Sinclair	tailor & clothier 36 Haymarket Terrace	
	Mary A D Hately	1 Chalmers Street	<b>W Hately</b>	teacher of music	
	Caroline Stuart Craig	10 Melville Street			nurses home
	Margaret Skene	ditto			
	Margaret Taylor	6 Upper Gilmore Place	Mrs John Lawrie	no occupation	servant ?
	Barbara Christie	19 Home Street	John Kelman	no occupation	servant ?
	Kate Falconer	136 Bedford Street	Mrs Lane	no occupation	servant?
	Marjory Henderson	10 Rutland Square	Miss Brown	no occupation	servant ?
	Charles Brodie Wilson	12 Granville Terrace	<b>Charles Wilson</b>	Charles Wilson & Sons butcher, 19 Castle Street and 298 Lawnmarket	
	Andrew Fleming	2 Portgower Place	Mrs A Fleming	no occupation	
	George Liddell	44 Leamington Terrace	Mrs A Fleming	no occupation	
	George Geddes	8 Douglas Terrace	<b>GH Geddes</b>	J&GH Geddes mining engineers 21 Young Street	
	Arthur Dickson	16 Melville Terrace	Andrew Linton	cork manufacturer	employee ?
	Thomas L Hately	1 Chalmers Street	<b>W Hately</b>	teacher of music	
	John Smith	104 South Bridge		shop assistant (?)	Christie & Kilpatrick clothiers, hatters, outfitters & robemakers to the University
	Andrew Bennet	4 Appin Terrace			
	Robert Hutchison	4 Moray Place	Robert Stewart		
	David Stenhouse	12 Montague Street			

<b>Date of Admission</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Head of Household</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Notes</b>
<b>24 June 1895</b>	Ann Morrice	Falconhall	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Mary Wayman	ditto			ditto
	Anna Macpherson	ditto			ditto
	Lizzie Falconer	ditto			ditto
	Edith Kerr	1 Warrender Park Crescent	Mrs Hugh Kerr	no occupation	
	Mary Jane Taylor	150 Bruntsfield Place	George Taylor	joiner	
	Amelia Margaret Sinclair	5 Atholl Place	Miss Stevenson	no occupation	
	Flora Crookston	10 Forres Street			
	Ella Watson	3 Walker Street	George W Watson LDS	dental surgeon, lecturer on dental surgery & pathology	
	Mary Lawson	4 Belford Place	John Lawson	millers & grain merchant (J & L Lawson, Caledonia Mills, office 99 Leith Walk	
	James Robert Simson	Merchiston Castle School			private school for boys
	James Wilson	6 Ramsay Garden		student (?)	University Hall
	James G S Jamieson	4 Brougham Street	Miss Stewart	no occupation	
	Charles Mackay	7 Lauriston Gardens	Mrs MacDougal	no occupation	
<b>21 October 1895</b>	Harriet Craigie Bell	4 Buckingham Terrace	<b>Robert C Bell</b>	WS	
	Nellie Thomson	Gibson Lodge Corstorphine	R Thomson	market gardener	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Olive Milne Rae	9 Drummond Place	<b>Rev George Milne Rae DD</b>	secretary to the Colonial, Continental and Jewish Committee of the Free Church of Scotland (Free Church Offices Mound)	
	Janet Barrett	12 Eglinton Crescent	Mrs Barrett	no occupation	
	Madge Wayman	Falconhall Morningside	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Daisy Fleming	ditto			ditto
	Jane Husband	4 Royal Circus			
	John McConnell	4 Murieston Road			
	Alexandra McConnell	ditto			
	Thomson McKettrick	28 London Street	<b>Mrs M A McKettrick</b>	no occupation	
	Yoshinbu Fukada	9 Bernard Terrace			
<b>20 January 1896</b>	George Fraser	42 Melville Street	William Stewart Fraser	WS	
	Eleanor Henderson	40 Merchiston Avenue			
	Sophie Vartan	Falconhall	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Alice Wallace	11 Breadalbane Terrace	William Macdonald	no occupation	servant ?
	James Brunton	20 Stafford Street			
<b>24 March 1896</b>	Robert Hugh Simpson	52 Queen Street	<b>A R Simpson</b>	Professor of Midwifery	
	John Grieve Crichton	16 Palmerston Place	John Grieve Crichton	no occupation	
	Thomas Williamson	2 Osborne Terrace	A T Williamson	timber merchant	
	Frank W Hope	18 Hartington Place	Thomas Hope	civil engineer & architect	
	Henry Macdonald Simson	57 Manor Place			
	James Watson	3 Walker Street			
	Charles F Ridland	122 Bruntsfield Place	C S Ridland	no occupation	
	Margaret Gilbraith	ditto			servant ?

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Daniel Yule	36 Angle Park Terrace			
	Donald Watson	20 Cockburn Street	Miss Law	Servants Home, Central Registry Office for Servants	
	William MacLennan	ditto			
	Charlotte McKettrick	28 London Street	<b>Mrs M A McKettrick</b>	no occupation	
	Rita Ferguson	15 Wemyss Place			
	Isabella Scott	13 Belgrave Crescent Lane			
	Maggie Galloway	8 India Street	Miss Douglas	no occupation	servant ?
	Frances Sime	ditto			ditto
	Agnes Fleming	2 Portgower Place	Mrs A F Fleming	no occupation	
	Isabella Craig	161 Dalry Road	George Craig	no occupation	
	Mary F Legget	2 Ravelston Terrace	Robert Legget jr	Robert Legget & Son skinners, tanners & wool merchants Water of Leith	
	Isabella Ralph	2 Stafford Street			
	Lilian J Angus	6 Henderson Terrace	Mrs Angus	no occupation	
	Janet McConnell	4 Murieston Road			
	Alice J Hope	10 Hartington Gardens	Rev Robert B Drummond	minister St Mark's Unitarian Church	servant ?
	Esther Helen Gray	26 Douglas Crescent	Mrs Robert Gray	no occupation	
	Annie M Crichton	16 Palmerston Place	Mrs M L Crichton	no occupation	
	Alice Gray Hately	1 Chalmers Street	<b>W Hately</b>	teacher of music	
	Jean Husband	4 Royal Circus	William Husband	MD FRSC	
	Jane Munro	41 Comely Bank Road	Robert Younger	no occupation	
	Kate Munro	ditto			
	Kate McGregor	9 Stafford Street	<b>W B McGregor</b>	church officer Free St George's	
	Annie Harvey	9 Dean Park Crescent			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Harry Cowper	35 East London Street			
<b>22 June 1896</b>	James Graham	254 Morrison Street	Mrs Graham	no occupation	
	Margaret Hay	11 Oxford Terrace	<b>Miss Lister</b>	ladies' boarding school	boarder ?
	Robert Ovens	ditto			janitor ?
	Elizabeth Ovens	ditto			
	Annie Gray	3 Coates Place	William M Gray	no occupation	
<b>19 October 1896</b>	Ernest Balfour	2 Rothesay Terrace	Mrs Alexander Balfour	no occupation	
	Vera Balfour	ditto			
	Georgina Leslie Wink	44 Melville Street	Miss Absolon	masseuse & matron of private hospital	
	John Galloway	5 Warrender Park Terrace	Miss M Nicol	no occupation	
	Margaret S Dewar	10 Grosvenor Street	James Aikman	no occupation	
	John Symon	10 Danube Street	Mrs James Taylor	no occupation	
	Nellie Macara	7 Ventnor Terrace	Duncan Macara	printer, plain and fancy stationer, 6&8 Cockburn Street and 2 Hanover Street	
	Reginald William Gibson	5 Mary's Place	Alex Gilmour	writing master	
	Mary Shepherd Simson	51 Manor Place	<b>James Simson</b>	Bengal Civil Service	
	Adam Baird	117 Montgomery Street	Robert Baird	no occupation	
	Mary Baird	ditto			
	Thomas Grainger Stewart	19 Charlotte Square	<b>Professor Sir Thomas Grainger Stewart</b>	Professor of the Practice of Medicine, physician in ordinary to the Queen	
	Gordon Craig	28 Brunton Terrace	Robert Lawson	custodian, Banqueting Hall, Castle	
	John M Lamont	16 Marchmont Crescent			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Christopher Alan Laing	59 Manor Place	Alex Laing	SSC 41 Charlotte Square	
	Chrissie A L Laing	ditto			
	James Robertson	20 Brunton Place			
	Marion Ranken	10 Eton Terrace	Major-General F Nepean Smith		servant ?
	Mary Grant	ditto			ditto
	Jeanie Wilson	32 Roseburn Terrace			
	Agnes B Wilson	ditto			
	David William Inglis	115 Henderson Row	Miss M Macphail	newsagent, stationer & family bazaar 7 Bakers Place	
	Alice Maud Tullis	11 Oxford Terrace	<b>Miss Lister</b>	boarding school	boarder ?
	Wilding Penman	ditto			ditto
	Alice Arras	Falconhall	<b>Misses Gossip</b>	private school for young ladies	ditto
	Cecilia Margaret Gardner	ditto			ditto
	Anna Macdonald	50 Melville Street	Miss Johnstone	no occupation	
<b>25 January 1897</b>	Harry W McKettrick	1 Bellevue Crescent	<b>Mrs M A McKettrick</b>		
<b>22 March 1897</b>	Donald George MacLennan	14 Montpelier Park	<b>D G MacLennan</b>	teacher of dancing 2a Shandwick Place	
	George Young	20 Roseneath Place	Isabella Purves	dairy	
	Patrick Stewart	94 Viewforth		Female Orphan Home	
	W M Hutchison	4 Grosvenor Street	William Hutchison	CA 30 York Place	
	Alexander Simpson	5 Picardy Place			
	George Deuchars Craig	8 Hazelbank Terrace			
	Cathie Gordon Craig	ditto			
	Thomas Gordon Craig	28 Brandon Terrace			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Agnes Lochhead	125 Morrison Street	James Lochhead	coal agent	
	Jessie Lochhead	ditto			
	Ara Mundell	Falconhall, Morningside	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Maggie Scott	23 Chester Street	Miss Jeffrey	no occupation	servant ?
	Nellie Macleod	26 Buckingham Terrace	Dr Alex W Beveridge	no occupation	servant ?
<b>25 October 1897</b>	Maggie Gibson	3 East Fettes Avenue			
	Kate Macaulay	33 Howe Street	Miss Kilgarron	no occupation	servant ?
	Bella Cook	ditto			after baptism (Her parents were Baptists)
	Maggie Munro	5 Coates Place	Somerville Greig	WS 134 George Street	servant ?
	Jessie Blair Bonnyman	10 Leven Street	Alexander Bonnyman	baker & confectioner 166 Pleasance	
	Ruth Buchanan	1 Marchmont Street			
	Frances Mary Davidson	15 Strathearn Road	Mrs Davidson John Davidson	no occupation	
	Louisa Kerr	7 Warrender Park Crescent	Hugh Kerr	no occupation	
	Mary Ramage	27 West Maitland Street	Adam Stoddart Hugh Stoddart	no occupation	servant ?
	Catherine M Ross	69 Queen Street	Miss McVicar matron	Royal Scottish Nursing Institution	nurse
	William McKay	32 Gardners Crescent			
	S F Stewart	18 Polwarth Gardens	Patrick Graeme Stewart	law clerk	
	John Morton	29 Polwarth Gardens	John Morton	The Albert Works Co. decorative furniture manufacturers Tynecastle	
	Hugh Grainger Stewart	19 Charlotte Square	<b>Professor Sir Thomas Grainger Stewart</b>	Professor of the Practice of Medicine, physician in ordinary to the Queen	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	James Bannerman Lorimer	9 Gloucester Place	J C Lorimer	advocate	
	Donald McLean	32 Cumberland Street			
<b>24 January 1898</b>	Mary Anne Henderson	9 Grosvenor Street	Rev G J Cowley-Brown	St Johns the Evangelist Princes Street (Episcopalian)	servant ?
	Jack Hogg	28 Ann Street	Miss Borthwick		
	Berta Wylie	Falconhall, Morningside	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
<b>21 March 1898</b>	William A B Gall	5 Upper Gilmore Terrace	M Alexander	no occupation	
	Alexander Rosie	49 West Nicolson Street			
	John Sclater	9 St Giles Street			
	Henry D Lawrie	5 Moray Place	James D Lawrie	Lawrie & Ker stockbrokers 4 St Andrews Square	
	James Rose	56 Howe Street			
	Ian Ramsay	58 Melville Street	John Anderson	apartments	
	John Hossack	24 Shandon Crescent	Mrs Christina Hossack	no occupation	
	Annie Anderson	37 Palmerston Place	Mrs J M Duncan	no occupation	servant ?
	Jessie Whitehead	17 Lansdowne Crescent	Mrs C C Mackintosh	no occupation	servant ?
	Katherine Mackenzie	2 Ainslie Place	Mrs G Miller Cunningham	no occupation	servant?
	Jeanie Cormack	33 Melville Street	<b>J A Fleming</b>	advocate	servant ?
	Barbara Macdougall	3 Mertoun Place	Mrs Macdougall	no occupation	
	Rachel Lauder	40 India Street	Mrs Paterson	no occupation	servant ?
	Jessie Henderson	29 Brougham Street	Mrs Boyd	no occupation	servant ?
	Catherine W Fraser	20 Heriot Row	John F McLennan	advocate	servant ?
	Nelly Anderson	7 Scotland Street			
	Jane A Douglas	30 Rutland Square	Mrs Hayes	no occupation	servant ?
	Lizzie J Gray	51 Manor Place	<b>James Simson</b>	Bengal Civil Service	servant ?



Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Marion Watson	Falconhall, Morningside	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Nina Campbell	ditto			ditto
	Edie M Tawse	ditto			ditto
	Annie Catchpole	3 Grosvenor Street			
	Olga von Wanckstein	7 Rutland Square	Miss von Adelstein	Governesses Benevolent Society of Scotland	
<b>24 October 1898</b>	Alexander Patrick Gordon Lorimer	9 Gloucester Place	<b>J C Lorimer</b>	advocate	
	Alexander Barnett	29 Viewforth			
	Ernest David Simson	13 Grosvenor Street	<b>Robert Simson</b>	HM Bengal Civil Service	
	William Hanna	7 Magdala Crescent	<b>T Chalmers Hanna</b>	CA Wood & Hanna 45 Queen Street	
	John M Deas	1a Lauriston Gardens	James Deas	J Deas & Son lithographers & engravers NW Thistle Street Lane	
	Alexander Badenoch	18 Rosebank Cottages	Alexander Badenoch	no occupation	
	Mary Sclater	26 Queens Crescent			
	Mary Spence	14 Caledonian Road	George Tough	North British Railway Police	
	Margaret Whyte	7 Charlotte Square	<b>Rev Alexander Whyte</b>	minister Free St Georges	
	Lela Henderson	21 Pitt Street			
	Alice Moncrieff Angus	6 Henderson Terrace	Mrs Angus	no occupation	
	Annie Clark	ditto			servant ?
	Isabella Graham	Free Church Offices	<b>John Graham</b>	caretaker ?	
	Elsie Morton	29 Polwarth Gardens	John Morton	wine merchant	
	Elizabeth Johnstone	30 Northumberland Street	Alexander Moncrieff	advocate	servant ?
	Lily Falconer	Falconhall	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
<b>23 January 1899</b>	Isabella Macrae	17 Torphichen Street			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>20 March 1899</b>	William Mackenzie	24 Rutland Street	Miss Myrtle	no occupation	
	Buckham W Liddell	44 Leamington Terrace	John Liddell	no occupation	
	John S Blair	5 Pentland Terrace			
	Hugh Macleod	27 Blackwood Crescent			
	Matthew Holmes	66 Haymarket Terrace	Miss King	no occupation	
	George Durran	29 Alva Street			
	Robert Godfrey	46 Cumberland Street	Robert Godfrey	coal merchant	
	Charles Mason	2 Henderson Terrace	George Sanderson	grocer 118 Gorgie Road	
	Janet Scott	1 Randolph Crescent	J Lamont Lackie	MD FRCPE	servant?
	<b>Robina Grant</b>	81 Clerk Street		contralto vocalist for oratorios etc	
	Mary Fleming	2 Portgower Place	<b>Mrs A Fleming</b>	no occupation	
	Margaret Stuart Mackenzie	34 Comely Bank			
	Elizabeth Walker	22 Glencairn Crescent	James Cormack	merchant & shipowner	servant?
	Mary Swanson	6 Coates Crescent	James Turner	apartments	
	Bessie Gillespie	3 Greenhill Gardens	James Gillespie	grocer & wine merchant 316 Morningside Road	
<b>19 March 1900</b>	Mary Taylor	11 York Place	Miss Brittain	no occupation	
	Nettie Taylor	ditto			
	Annie Hood	ditto			
	Lizzie Simpson	39 Manor Place	Mrs Henry Kermack	no occupation	servant ?
	Madge Halliday	Craigmount	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Carol Smith	ditto			boarder ?
	Neil Forbes Grant	14 Gillespie Crescent			
	Thomas W Wylie	18 Warrender Park Road			
	Andrew Mackie	2 Moncrieff Terrace	Mrs Robertson	no occupation	
	Christine Sinclair	24 Primrose Terrace	William Sinclair	tailor and clothier 21 Grove Street	
<b>22 October 1900</b>	Berta Currie	4 Royal Terrace	John P Currie	no occupation	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Jessie Halden	13 Duke Street	James Halden	no occupation	
	David A D Lorimer	9 Gloucester Place	<b>J Campbell Lorimer</b>	advocate	
	Joan C M Simson	51 Manor Place	<b>James Simson</b>	Bengal Civil Service (retired)	
	Harriet B Fleming	2 Portgower Place	<b>Mrs A Fleming</b>	no occupation	
	Annie Mackay	25 Learmonth Terrace	Arthur Sanderson	Robertson, Sanderson & Co Ltd wine & spirit merchants 11-13 Quality Street	servant ?
	Isabella Glennie	ditto			servant ?
	Jane Sievwright	Craigmount	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Maggie Gray	13 Grosvenor Crescent	Lady Anne Dick Lauder	no occupation	servant ?
	Mary Adam	3 Surrey Place			
	Catherine Mackay	11 Buckingham Terrace	Misses Simmie	no occupation	servant ?
	Lizzie Ross	22 Brougham Street			
	Margery Wilson	61 Warrender Park Road	Douglas Wilson	solicitor	
	Agnes Wood	16 Buckingham Terrace	John D Wood	WS (Melville & Lindesay 110 George Street)	
	Maggie Thomson	41 Melville Street	Mrs W Black	apartments	
	Kenneth Graham	Free Church Offices 15 North Bank Street	<b>John Graham</b>	caretaker ?	
	Alexander M Gauld	18 Gardners Crescent	D Cameron	no occupation	
	Russell Sharp	ditto			
	A Russell Henderson	48 India Street	<b>R Candlish Henderson</b>	advocate	grandson of Robert Candlish
	Alexander Angus	6 Henderson Terrace	Mrs A Angus	no occupation	
	J M G Ewing	2 Mound Place		divinity student ?	Free Church College Residence
	David Young	7 Warrender Park Crescent	A J Young	no occupation	
	George Ross	5 Caledonian Road			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	George Hately	1 Chalmers Street	<b>William Hately</b>	teacher of music	
	Percy Wilkie	20 Stafford Street	Miss Collie	apartments	
<b>21 January 1901</b>	James Martin	Niddrie Cottages Portobello	Robert Martin	manager Niddrie & Bentias Coal Co Ltd	
	Thomas B Shaw	9 Spottiswoode Street	William Miller	no occupation	
	James Wright	69 Warrender Park Road	Misses Ramsay	no occupation	
	Donald Crerar	47 Warrender Park Road			
	David R Davidson	6 Ann Street	<b>Mrs Chisholm Davidson</b>	no occupation	
<b>25 March 1901</b>	John James Thomson	34 Haymarket Terrace			
	Alfred E Milne	53 Manor Place	Malcolm McNeill	Chairman, Local Government Board for Scotland 125 George Street	
	Fred G Hart	10 Buckingham Terrace	George B Hart	Secretary National Bank of Scotland Ltd	
	<b>James Winram</b>	3 North Charlotte Street		teacher of music	
	Mrs Winram	ditto			
	James Ross	27 Pitt Street	Mrs William Ross	no occupation	
	Alexandra McNaughton	Royal Hotel 53 Princes Street			
	William E G Lawrie	5 Moray Place	James D Lawrie	Lawrie & Kerr stockbrokers 4 St Andrews Square	
	Jessie Mackintosh	14 Caledonian Road	Mrs Sutherland	dressmaker & milliner	
	Hilda Romanes	Craigknowe, Craiglockhart			
	Ada W Mackintosh	19 York Place	Miss Brittain	no occupation	
	Fanny W Black	39 Melville Street	Mrs W Black	apartments	
	Justina Ridland	122 Bruntsfield Place	C S Ridland	no occupation	
	Maggie Nicol	31 Panmure Place			

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Marjorie Badenoch	18 Rosebank Cottages			
	Mary McWilliam	15 Archibald Place	Miss Irvine	apartments	
<b>24 June 1901</b>	Gordon Hately	1 Chalmers Street	<b>William Hately</b>	teacher of music	
	Arthur W Smith	12 Darnaway Street	D Howard Smith	solicitor & notary public Commissioner of Courts for Cape Colony 36 Hanover Street	
	Edward J Black	39 Melville Street	Mrs W Black	apartments	
	John McGregor	6 Grosvenor Street	Adam McGregor	apartments	
	William P Short	378 Morningside Road	Mrs Short	no occupation	
	Peter Christall Balfour	31 Melville Street	Mrs John Angus	apartments	
	Frances Guthrie	Craigmount	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Isabella Newlands	29 Lauriston Street			
	Mabel G Milne	56 Manor Place	Mrs Milne	no occupation	
	Margaret Buchan	42 Heriot Row	A Hill Buchan Alexander Buchan LLD	MB CM MRCPE  Secretary, Scottish Meteorological Society	
	Phemie Henderson	31 Bread Street			
	Jeanie Marshall	20 Elm Row	Misses M & N Marshall	baby linen warehouse	
	Jessie Allan	32 Morningside Road	Misses Allan	no occupation	
<b>21 October 1901</b>	Laura Chishom Davidson	6 Ann Street	<b>Mrs Chishom Davidson</b>	no occupation	
	Jeanie Hunter	8 India Street	Miss Douglas	no occupation	servant ?
	Wilhelmina Griffiths Noble	11 Magdala Crescent	James Robert Reid	no occupation	servant ?
	William Tennant	27 Upper Gray Street	John Ross	no occupation	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Alexander Frederick Whyte	7 Charlotte Square	<b>Rev Alexander Whyte</b>	minister Free St George's	
	Charles Clark	99 Shandwick Place	Mrs A Clark	apartments	
	Joseph A D Bell	4 Buckingham Terrace	<b>Benjamin Bell</b> <b>R C Bell</b>	WS WS	
	Rhona Cassie	10 St Peters Buildings Gilmore Place			
	Kate Robertson	Craigmount	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Anna Scott	ditto			ditto
	Lily Locke	ditto			ditto
	Janet Whyte	7 Charlotte Square	<b>Rev Alexander Whyte</b>	minister Free St George's	
	John Ferguson Smith	10 Piershill Place			
	Mrs Smith	ditto			
	Catherine J Smith	1 Malta Terrace			
	John R Fleming	2 Portgower Place	Mrs A Fleming	no occupation	
	Helen Sommerville Philips	102 Raeburn Place	John Jones	Inland Revenue	
	Duncan Christie	12 Atholl Place	William Sutherland	no occupation	
	David M Jamieson	12 Melville Terrace	Mrs Jamieson	no occupation	
	Andrew Jamieson	ditto			
	Robert C Walker	15 Magdala Crescent	D J Walker	Bell & Bradfute publishers 12 Bank Street	
	John Scott	5 South Oxford Street			
	Etta Davidson	Muir Hall 12 George Square	Miss Robertson	lady superintendent University residence	student ?
	Christina Forbes	4 Royal Terrace	John D Currie	no occupation	servant ?

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Lettie Milne Rae	9 Drummond Place	<b>Rev George Milne Rae DD</b>	secretary to the Colonial and Jewish Committee of the Free Church of Scotland	
	Margaret A FitzRoy	41 Melville Street	Mrs W Black	apartments	
	Emily J L FitzRoy	ditto			
	George E L FitzRoy	ditto			
	F J Robertson	7 Hillside Crescent			
	Thomas Crockett jr	14 Viewforth	Thomas Crockett	Edinburgh City Mission, missionary to coalmen (privately supported)	
	Arthur John Frederick Nicolson	55 Macdonald Road	Adam Turnbull	goods agent, Waverley Station	
	Harold Stanley Nicolson	ditto			
	Minnie Rock	15 Barclay Place			
	Julia Wilson	9 West Stanhope Place			
	Mayland Procter	21 West Maitland Street	Thomas R Procter	Procter & Son plumbers & gas fitters	
<b>20 October 1902</b>	Thomas Drysdale jr	22 Charles Street			
	Helen Hardie Drysdale	ditto			
	Kenneth Edwards	11 Dundee Terrace			
	John Cunningham	1 Leamington Terrace			
	William C Ritchie	11 Leslie Place			
	Helen M Fairie Walker	15 Magdala Crescent	D J Walker	no occupation	
	Mary D Cross	19 Murrayfield Avenue	A L Cross	no occupation	
	Muriel H Hope	18 Hartington Place	Thomas C E Hope	civil engineer & architect 34 St Andrews Square	

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Mary Helen Watson	Craigmount Dick Place	Miss Gossip	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Mary Isobel Wood	16 Buckingham Terrace	John P Wood	W S	
	Margaret Cursiter	23 India Street	William Fletcher	W S 12 Hill Street	servant ?
	Jessie Cursiter	ditto			ditto
	Alan J Lawrie	5 Moray Place	James D Lawrie	Lawrie & Kerr	
<b>19 January 1903</b>	Hamilton Campbell	25 Moray Place	<b>P W Campbell</b>	W S Principal Clerk of Session 25 Ainslie Place & 1 North Charlotte Street	
	John P Campbell	ditto			
<b>25 March 1903</b>	Grace Alexander Lowe	34 Marchmont Crescent	A W Lowe	no occupation	after baptism
	Zoe Napier	7 West Castle Road	Theodore Napier, Balmanno	no occupation	
	Winifred M M Napier	ditto			
	<b>Ellen J Thomson</b>	14 Spittal Street		no occupation	
	Mary E Frier	ditto			
	Ernest Edward	17 Dundee Street			
	William Pirie Holden	5 Lutton Place			
	R Charles Alexander	15 Hartington Gardens	Richard Alexander	no occupation	
	John S Ridland	122 Bruntsfield Place	C S Ridland	no occupation	
	Thomas Drysdale	16 Merchiston Crescent	Mrs Drysdale	no occupation	
	John T Simson	51 Manor Place	<b>James Simson</b>	Bengal Civil Service (retired)	elder
	James Davie	84 Braid Road	John Davie	no occupation	
	David A Chalmers	22 Comely Bank Avenue			
	John Norrie	11 Belford Terrace	Miss Margaret C Norrie	no occupation	
	Jessie Ann Stewart	29 East London Street	Duncan Stewart	no occupation	
	Elizabeth Stewart	ditto			



Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Margaret Inglis	5 Merchiston Bank Avenue			
	Alexandrine M Graham	1 Portgower Place			
	Isabella Graham	ditto			
	Catherine Cormack	9 Grosvenor Street	Rev G J Cowley-Brown	St John's Episcopal Church	servant ?
	Christine M Birrell	88 Montpelier Park			
	Sheana McDiarmid	11 Merchiston Park	Miss P M Kerr	no occupation	servant ?
	Lizzie M Taylor	150 Bruntsfield Place	Mrs Taylor	no occupation	
	Mary Somerville Craig	12 Gorgie Road	George Craig	no occupation	
	Josephine Currie	4 Royal Terrace	John P Currie	no occupation	
	Helen Anderson	9 Shandon Place			
	Hannah J Nicol	6 Perth Street	John Ormiston		
	Agatha Lorimer	9 Gloucester Place	<b>J C Lorimer</b>	advocate KC	
	Marcellie Grainger Stewart	13 Rothesay Place	<b>Lady Grainger Stewart R M Grainger Stewart</b>	no occupation	
<b>19 October 1903</b>	David Harvie	16 Dewar Place	James Harvie	no occupation	
	Archibald Clark	10 Murrayfield Place	Miss Whyte	no occupation	
	John Nelson	25 Cumberland Street	Misses Cumming	no occupation	
	James Smyth	32 Comely Bank Street			
	Marguerite Wood	16 Buckingham Terrace	John P Wood	W S	
	Mary Macdonald	16 Coates Gardens	James Ivory	CA	servant ?
	Christina Husband	10 Barnton Terrace	Mrs Husband	no occupation	
	Janet Eadie	23 Melville Street	Miss Thom	apartments	
	Helen Swanson	5 Atholl Crescent	Misses Beck	no occupation	servant ?
	Nellie Swanson	3 Manor Place	J Taylor Grant	MD BSc MRCPE	servant ?

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Maggie Swanson	5 Merchiston Park	Duncan Mackenzie George Mackenzie	wine & spirit merchant 13 West Maitland Street	
	Gladys Dewar	Drylaw House Davidsons Mains	James Dewar	MD FRCSE	
<b>21 March 1904</b>	Jeanie D Miller	29 Howe Street	James Miller	no occupation	
	Mary W Inglis	5 Merchiston Bank Avenue			
	Grace Shaw	60 Melville Street	Thomas Shaw	apartments	
	Annie Rae	Craigmount Dick Place	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Ella S Dyke	ditto			ditto
	Alison H Henderson	ditto			ditto
	Nellie Robertson	ditto			ditto
	Christine Macphail	ditto			ditto
	Jenny Munro	ditto			ditto
	Alice Alexander	15 Hartington Gardens			
	Bessie Macdonald	7 Wheatfield Street Gorgie			
	William Redpath	21 Stewart Terrace			
	James Hislop	38 Watson Crescent Dundee Terrace			
	Robert Birrell	2 Marchmont Street	Robert Birrell	no occupation	
	John Richardson	38 Duff Street Dalry Road			
	Andrew Stenhouse	1a Oxford Terrace	Richard G H Macnamara		
	Ian T Nelson	7 Ainslie Place	<b>R Fitzroy Bell</b>	advocate	
<b>20 June 1904</b>	A Stewart Watt	5 Circus Gardens	George Watt	advocate KC	
	Helen Campbell	11 Oxford Terrace	<b>Miss Lister</b>	private school for girls	boarder ?
	Mrs Sclater	11 Roseburn Place			
	Janet Noble	17 Howe Street	Miss Britten	no occupation	servant ?
	Marion Harris	47 Comely Bank Place	Henry Harris	no occupation	
	Davina Bayne	7 Charlotte Square	<b>Rev Alexander Whyte</b>	minister Free St George's	servant ?

Date of Admission	Name	Address	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
	Grace Milne Rae	9 Drummond Place	<b>Rev George Milne Rae</b>	secretary to the Colonial and Jewish Committee of the Free Church of Scotland	
<b>24 October 1904</b>	Clara Steedman	117 Montgomery Street	Adam Baird	no occupation	servant ?
	Elsie Walker	3 Ainslie Place	Miss Houldsworth	no occupation	Servant ?
	Jessie Shaw	5 Royal Circus			
<b>25 March 1905</b>	Muriel Mackie	13 Barnton Terrace			
	Susie Martin	17 Rothesay Place	F J Martin	WS NP 25 Ainslie Place	
	Mary D Graham	1 Portgower Place			
	John Philips	15 Warrender Park Terrace			
	Ella Bailie	Craigmount 52 Dick Place	<b>Miss Gossip</b>	boarding school proprietor	boarder ?
	Kate M Cunningham	ditto			ditto
	Mary K Davie	ditto			ditto
	Hettie Shaw	4 Hillview Blackhall	William Shaw	no occupation	
	Margaret Poole	16 Keith Crescent Blackhall	William Poole	no occupation	
	Alice Poole	ditto			
	Margaret Miller	2 Melville Crescent	<b>Joseph Bell</b>	MD FRCS DL JP	servant ?
	Margaret Davidson	3 Atholl Crescent	Miss Guthrie Wright	honorary secretary Edinburgh School of Cookery & Domestic Economy Ltd	servant ?
	Maud Robertson	43 Polwarth Gardens	Mrs Robertson	no occupation	
	Mary S L Robertson	ditto			
	Mary W Walker	15 Magdala Crescent	D J Walker	Bell & Bradfute publishers 12 Bank Street	servant ?
	Jane Henderson Findlay	21 Pitt Street			

<b>Date of Admission</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Head of Household</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Notes</b>
	Andrew Graham	United Free Church Offices 15 North Bank Street	John M Graham	caretaker ?	
	Lena Murray	5 Melville Street	Miss R Walker	principal St George's Training College and High School for Girls	student ?
	Jeanie Shiels	ditto			ditto
	William Sharp	17 Royal Crescent	Miss Macdonald Bain	teacher of singing	
	Christine Cumming	276 Morrison Street	Gregor Cumming	no occupation	
	Charlotte McKetrick	14 Craighouse Avenue	H W McKetrick	no occupation	
	Evelyn McKetrick	ditto			
	Flora Inglis	5 Merchiston Bank Avenue			
	Effie Hogg	12 Viewforth	Mrs Cleghorn	no occupation	servant ?
<b>19 June 1905</b>	Robert H Scott	27 Comely Bank Street			
	Ethel H Baird	7 St Vincent Street	Samuel Baird	no occupation	
	Catherine L Leask	4 Warrender Park Terrace			
	Josephine A Leask	ditto			
<b>23 October 1905</b>	Olive Hately	1 Chalmers Street	<b>William Hately</b>	teacher of music	

## Appendix 3a

**CH14/14/1 Minute Book of Congregational Church assembling in Argyle Square Chapel  
Edinburgh under the pastoral care of Revd W Lindsay Alexander 1853-1878**

**Admission of New Members**

Note: Dates are those of admission or resignation as notified at Church Business Meetings.  
Occupations from minutes are in italics, heads of household in bold type.

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
4 August 1853	<b>Dr James Matthews Duncan</b>	55 Castle Street	Fellow of Royal College of Physicians	report	This followed an interview by two senior male members of the congregation
	<b>Robert McGregor</b>	6 Grange Place	<i>missionary</i>	ditto	
	Mrs McGregor	ditto		ditto	
1 September 1853	Miss Elizabeth Johnston	17 St James Square <b>Robert Johnston</b>	<b>chaplain to city workhouse</b>	ditto	
15 December 1853 (admitted over previous 6 months)	Mr W B Fulton	2 Salisbury Square	<i>shopman</i>	transfer	from Unwich's Church Dublin
	Mrs Fulton	ditto		ditto	from Leith
	George Kydd	5 Heriot Mount <b>James Gould</b>	<i>ordinance survey office stationer</i>	ditto	from George Street Aberdeen to Arbroath 21 July 1864
	Mr Bryson	54 South Clerk Street		ditto	from Mr Russell's Church Glasgow
	Mrs Bryson				
	Mrs Grote	With <b>Mr John Deuchar of Morningside</b>	<i>servant</i>	ditto	from Kirkwall
	Margaret Webster	5 Windmill Street	<i>servant</i>	ditto	previous church not stated
	Mrs William Jelly	7 Upper Gilmore Place <b>Mrs Bethia Jelly</b>		ditto	from San Francisco
	Catherine Ritchie	with <b>Miss Kennedy</b> Helen Cottage Church Lane, Morningside	<i>servant</i>	ditto	from St Andrews

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	John Wighton	2 Drummond Street	<i>teacher</i>	ditto	from Leith
	Mrs Wighton				
	Andrew Menzies	55 India Place <b>Adam Proctor</b>	<b>plumber &amp; gas fitter 5 Church Lane</b>	ditto	from Falkland to St Andrews 10 January 1866
	Mrs Menzies	ditto			ditto
	Jane Wood	with Mr Thomson 4 Wemyss Place	<i>servant</i>	transfer	from Rendall
	Mrs Mary Cantrell	33 Dublin Street		ditto	from Camberwell
	Mr William Johnston	17 St James Square	see Elizabeth Johnston above	ditto	from Greenock
	Samuel Money	102 Pleasance	<i>printer</i>	ditto	from Mr Russell's Church Glasgow
	Mrs Money	ditto			She transferred to Richmond Place 22 November 1855 as it was too far to go to the Queen Street Hall.
15 December 1853	John Hay	3 North Richmond Street		report	
2 February 1854	Miss Jeanette Croom	3 Argyle Square <b>George Croom</b>	<b>surgeon</b>	ditto	
	<b>John Goldsworth</b>	39 Montague Street	<i>teller, National Bank</i>	ditto	also recommendatory letter from Revd McArthur of Aberdeen
	Miss Agnes Paterson	55 High Street		ditto	also recommended by teacher of Congregational Female Bible Class with which she was connected married and gone to England 17 December 1868

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	<b>James Wright</b>	15 Inverleith Place	<i>secretary, Royal Bank</i>	ditto	
	Mrs Wright	ditto			
9 March 1854	Mrs Robert Henderson	High Street		report	
	Mr James Robertson	Cherry Bank Trinity		transfer	from Ward Chapel, Dundee (Rev Mr Spence)
	<b>Mr Andrew Johnston</b>	37 West Register Street	no occupation	ditto	from Helensburgh (Rev Mr Arthur, and from Rev Baptist Noel, London)
	Mrs Dalglish	21 Montagu Street <b>John Dalglish</b>	bookseller	transfer	from Weigh-house Chapel, London
	Magdalene Rattray	Rutland Square		ditto	from Kirkcaldy
13 April 1854	<b>Miss Elizabeth Finlay</b>	50 Minto Street <b>Miss Mary Findlay</b>	private boarding school	report	
	Jane Anderson	with Mr Grant 23 Matland Street	<i>servant</i>	ditto	
	Margaret Allan	with Mr Thomson 4 Main Point		ditto	to Musselburgh 5 December 1867
	Euphemia Stark	with Mrs Watt 13 Lothian Street		ditto	
	Mr John Roxburgh	5 Leith Street Terrace <b>James Cooper</b>	<i>upholsterer</i> bootmaker	transfer	from Camden Town (Rev J G Harrison)
18 May 1854	Ann Halcrow	with Rev Dr James McFarlane Duddingston Wester	<i>servant</i> parish minister of Duddingston	ditto	from Kirkwall (Rev Mr McNaughton) to England 16 November 1865
	Mrs Denham	3 Lauriston Lane <b>James Denham</b>	assistant clerk of Session	ditto	from Richmond Place (Rev Mr Wright)
	David Pentland	7 Hill Square	<i>jeweller</i>	report	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	<b>Mr Joseph H Stott</b>	19 Meadow Place	leather merchant	report	12 Niddry Street (also gutta percha depot)
	Mrs Stott	ditto		ditto	
	<b>Mr James Henderson</b>	6 George Street	<i>Teacher of English and geography</i>	ditto	
	Mrs Henderson	ditto		ditto	
15 June 1854	Mr William Sievwright	5 Calton Street <b>William Vallance</b>	confectioner	transfer	from Albany Street
	Mrs Sievwright	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mr James Wishart	9 Shrub Place Leith Walk	<i>blacksmith</i>	report	
	Miss Stott	19 Meadow Place	see John H Stott above	ditto	
	Miss Margaret Stott	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Arthur	with the <b>Misses Finlay</b> 50 Minto Street	see Elizabeth Finlay above	ditto	
13 July 1854	Mrs Wright	32 Home Street <b>Walter Wright</b>	stationer and bookseller	transfer	from Leven (Rev Mr Hamilton)
	Janet Wilkie	ditto		ditto	ditto
10 August 1854	Mr Peter Frazer	8 Keir Street	<i>commercial traveller</i>	ditto	from George Street, Glasgow
	<b>Mr Robert Hunter</b>	4 East Adam Street	<i>with Messrs Durham &amp; Sons, paper manufacturers</i>	report	
16 November 1854	<b>John Bartholomew</b>	13 Union Street	<i>engraver</i>	transfer	from the Tabernacle, Old Street Road London (Rev Isaac Vaughan)
	John Brown	27 Cheyne Street <b>Mrs Sandlands</b>	<i>railway porter</i>	ditto	from Albany Street



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	<b>Alexander Ferguson jr</b> <sup>1</sup>	5 Archibald Place	<i>confectioner</i>	transfer	from Richmond Place to Richmond Place 1 July 1869
	Mrs Ferguson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mr Street		<i>Sergeant 82<sup>nd</sup> Regiment</i> <sup>2</sup>	ditto	from Ward Street Dundee (Rev Mr Spence)
	Mrs Street			ditto	ditto
	W C Shearer	Mr Bell's 21 Lothian Road	<i>student</i>	transfer	from Thurso (Rev James Wishart)
	John M Lawson	residing at 35 Broughton Street	<i>student</i>	report	
7 December 1854	Eliza Mackay	with Rev D Sutherland	<i>servant</i>	transfer	from Musselburgh
	John Morrison	at Mr Ramage's 36 Lauriston Street	<i>tailor</i>	ditto	from Rhynie
	James Hunter	with <b>Mr William Denham</b> , Morningside	<i>blacksmith smith</i>	ditto	from Melrose
	Thomas Miller	65 Pleasance	<i>trimming assistant</i>	report	
	Mrs Miller	ditto		ditto	
	Mrs Archibald Petersen	Woodville, Trinity		ditto	
14 December 1854	Elspet Sangster	residing with <b>Mr Harry Smith</b> 9 Dundas Street	Writer to the Signet	transfer	from Southampton to Aberdeen 13 November 1862 returned 12 November 1863 to Aberdeen 30 May 1867
	Duncan McDonald	7 Leopold Place	<i>coachmaker</i>	report	
	Mrs McDonald	ditto		ditto	

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Ferguson sr 1 Melbourne Place was "purveyor of confectionary to the Queen". (PO Directory 1854)

<sup>2</sup> CH14/14/1 p. 23 Minute 7 December 1854 "Sergeant Street who had lately come among us had been called away with his regiment to foreign service, with the probability of his being engaged in the present war. Mrs Street was to return to England."

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
18 January 1855	Mr Francis Black	38 Drummond Place <b>Adam Black</b>	publisher	report	son
15 March 1855	Miss Jessie Morrison	23 South Bridge <b>M &amp; C Steel</b>	dressmaker	ditto	
5 April 1855	Ann Denham	Wharton Lane		ditto	
	George Menzies	55 India Place <b>Adam Proctor</b>	mason plumber & gas fitter	ditto	5 Church Lane
10 May 1855	John Barrow	residing at 4 St James Square	bookseller	transfer	from Peterhead
	Miss Alice Stevenson	residing with the <b>Misses Young</b> 60 Castle Street	no occupation	report	to Kirkcaldy 16 July 1863
	Mrs Moffat	residing at Logan's Close, Canongate <b>Thomas Long</b>	Engineer & machine maker	report	<b>house 45 New Street</b>
21 June 1855	Mr Moir		superintendent of the City Mission	transfer	from Rothebury Northumberland
	Andrew Brown	Bridge Place Bonnington <b>John Brown</b>	railway agent	ditto	from Riley Street, Geelong, Australia (to Newcastle 14 May 1857)
	Jane Peterson			ditto	from Walsall, Staffordshire
	Miss Isabella Munro	11 Drummond Street		report	
	Miss Henrietta Munro	ditto		ditto	
	Mr Cumberland Hill	residing at 20 Meadow Place <b>William Auld</b>	teacher, Heriot's Hospital shoemaker	ditto	513 & 407 Lawnmarket
5 July 1855	Miss Perry	12 Archibald Place <b>Mrs Dr Perry</b>	no occupation	ditto	
4 October 1855	Helen Alexander			ditto	
	Jane Cadzow			report	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mrs George Balleny	Lasswade		transfer	from West George Street, Glasgow (Dr Wardlaw)
	Wunga Fun (a Chinese)		<i>lately passed examination of MD</i>	ditto	line of recommendation from the Congregational Church in [blank] Massachusetts
8 October 1885 <sup>3</sup>	Margaret Millar			report	to Cheshire 22 January 1863
22 November 1855	Richard Smith	17 Arthur Street <b>Miss Laurie</b>	no occupation	transfer	from Blackfriars Street Church, Aberdeen
	Elizabeth Webber	17 Nelson Street <b>Miss Goodall</b>	ditto	ditto	from Melrose
	David Philip <sup>4</sup>		<i>student</i>	transfer	These students were admitted for the duration of their stay in Edinburgh. Their home churches were not stated.
	Thomas Brisbane		ditto	ditto	
	John Ferguson		ditto	ditto	
	John Anderson		ditto	ditto	
	Wilberforce Philip		ditto	ditto	
13 December 1855	William Bartie	Slateford	<i>slater</i>	report	
	Ann Mackay	with Mr <b>James Auld</b> 3 West Preston Street		ditto	bootmaker 397 Lawnmarket & 79 Princes Street
	Miss Helen Foggo		no occupation	ditto	

<sup>3</sup> The last meeting in Argyle Square was Sabbath evening 28 October 1855. Church met in Queen Street Hall until their new building was completed on George IV Bridge.

<sup>4</sup> Demission certificate issued 14 May 1857 on completion of studies

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Charles Ogilvy	19 Nelson Street <b>Robert McDougald</b>	<i>writer</i> no occupation	report	June 1872 to new church in Dalry district (with Mrs Ogilvy)
17 January 1856	Isabella Penshaw			transfer	from Portobello
	Mr John Craig	Portobello	<i>papermaker</i>	report	
	Mrs McDougall	80 Potterrow <b>Andrew McKechnie</b>		ditto	bricklayer
	Mrs G Menzies	7 Earl Grey Street		ditto	
	Mr William Durham	7 George Street	<i>stationer</i> papermaker	ditto	<b>James Durham &amp; Sons</b>
	Mr Archibald Geikie	6 Hope Park <b>James S Geikie</b>		ditto	ornamental hair manufacturer and perfumer to the Queen 35 North Bridge
14 February 1856	Mrs Brown	Bonnington		ditto	from Forfar
	Mr West			ditto	from Dundee (Mr Hannay)
	Mrs West			ditto	ditto
	Mrs Paton			ditto	from St James Chapel, Newcastle
	Miss Paton			ditto	ditto
	Miss Durham	Kinleith, by Currie <b>James Durham</b>	James Durham & Sons, papermakers, Balerno Mills Currie	ditto	After her marriage (Mrs Henry) moved to London (minute 12 June 1856)
	Mr George Irving	4 Arthur Street	<i>student</i>	ditto	
12 March 1856	Miss Isabella Spence	Montague Street		transfer	from Richmond Place to Kensington, London 22 January 1863
	James Stephen	4 Fleshmarket Close	<i>printer</i>	report	<b>James Stephen</b> tea dealer

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
17 April 1856	John Ashton		<i>student</i>	transfer	from Wandsworth, London (testimonial from Mr Davidson, pastor)
	Mrs Crighton	39 Thistle Street		report	
15 May 1856	Barbara Laurenson	with Adam Paterson 36 Heriot Row	servant	report	<b>Paterson &amp; Romanes</b> Writer to the Signet
	<b>Mr Forbes Gow</b>	429 High Street	<i>tailor</i>	ditto	He had been separated from the church many years ago.
	Mr William Scott	11 Carrubbers Close	<i>clerk</i>	ditto	
	Mrs Scott	ditto		ditto	
	<b>Mr D C Yule</b>	Broughton Hall	no occupation	transfer	from Albany Street
	Mrs Yule	ditto		ditto	ditto
	<b>Mr William Christie</b>	22 Scotland Street	cabinet maker	ditto	ditto
	Mrs Christie	ditto		ditto	ditto
12 June 1856	<b>Mr William Cowan</b>	1 West Maitland Street	no occupation	report	The pastor at the same time intimated the death of Mrs Cowan whose name had also been mentioned as an applicant.
	Ann Soutar			transfer	from Portobello
	Mrs T Milne			ditto	from Musselburgh to Dalkeith 17 March 1864
	Miss Elizabeth Milne			ditto	from Portobello to Dalkeith 17 March 1864
17 July 1856	<b>Mr Hugh McCartney</b>	4 ½ North Bridge	<i>clothier</i> tailor	report	
	Mrs McCartney	ditto		ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
14 August 1856	Mr W Craig	10 Rankeillor Street	<i>in Union Bank</i>	transfer	from Nile Street, Glasgow
	Mr James Finlay	32 Gilmore Place		ditto	from Liverpool
	Miss Elizabeth Finlay	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mr David Marwick	18 Carlton Street <b>James D Marwick</b>	Watt & Marwick Solicitors to the Supreme Court 9 York Place	transfer	from Dundee (Mr Spencer)
	Mrs Marwick	ditto		report	
	Mr James McEwan Stott <sup>5</sup>	1 Park Street <b>J H Stott</b>		ditto	leather merchant and gutta percha depot, agent for County Fire Office 12 Niddry Street
	Mr W G Peddie	8 St David Street	<i>with Mr White stationers</i>	ditto	
	Mr Peter Barclay	2 Drummond Street	<i>printer</i>	ditto	
18 September 1856	Mrs E Hunter	22 Elm Row	sick nurse	report	
	<b>Mr James Hunter</b>	ditto	no occupation	ditto	
	Mrs James Hunter	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Clara Hunter	ditto		ditto	
	Mr Peter Barnet	21 Carnegie Street	<i>clerk</i>	ditto	
	Mrs Laing	Cumin Place		re-admission	on return from London to Glasgow 13 November 1862
6 November 1856	Miss Margaret Laing	ditto		report	
	Lilias Smith	with <b>Miss Mary Finlay</b> , 50 Minto Street	<i>servant</i>	report	private boarding school

<sup>5</sup> The pastor requested the approval of the church to a testimonial which he read in favour of Mr James McEwan Stott who was about to apply for admission to the Theological Hall with a view to prepare himself for becoming a missionary to the heathen, this work having been the cherished object of Mr Stott's life and his previous education having been conducted with a view to his engaging in it. (Minute 28 June 1860 p.172)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Isabella Smith	60 Cumberland Street		ditto	
	Miss Helen McLaren	42 George Square <b>James McLaren</b>	no occupation	report	
	Miss Elizabeth McLaren	ditto		ditto	
	Mrs Donaldson			transfer	from Stirling
	Lilias Harrower			ditto	ditto
27 November 1856	Mr Donaldson		teacher, High School	ditto	from London
18 December 1856	<b>Alexander Moncrieff</b>	16 Northumberland Street	advocate	report	
	Mrs Moncrieff	ditto		ditto	
15 January 1857	Eliza Gowans	23 Royal Circus <b>David Dickson of Kilbucho &amp; Hartree</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	re-admittance	on return from Glasgow (Nile Street)
	Elsie Gordon	11 Hillside Crescent <b>A S Macoll</b>	<b>classic teacher</b>	transfer	from Huntly
	Thomas Longstaff	21 Lothian Street	<i>student</i>	ditto	from Methodist Church, Darlington
5 February 1857	John Wilkes	31 Home Street		report	
	Mrs Wilkes	ditto		ditto	
	Thomas Cumming	20 Market Street	<i>joiner</i>	ditto	<b>J Cumming wood merchant</b>
	Miss Somerville	with Miss <b>Finlay</b> , 50 Minto Street		report	private boarding school
	Miss Becker	ditto		ditto	
2 April 1857	Miss Graham			transfer	from Carlisle
	Mary Hays	9 Charlotte Square <b>George Dundas</b>	<b>advocate &amp; Sheriff of Selkirkshire</b>	ditto	from New Lanark and Lincoln
	<b>Miss Frances Croley</b>	23 Duke Street	<b>Croley &amp; Co staymakers</b>	report	
	<b>Mr James Barlas</b>	47 George Street	secretary, Scottish Insurance Co.	ditto	
	Mrs Barlas	ditto		ditto	
	Mr Adam Paton	31 Parkside Street <b>John Paton</b>	<i>civil engineer</i> <b>no occupation</b>	ditto	to London 10 December 1857

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
14 May 1857	Mr William McConkie	Lochend Road	gardener	transfer	from Peterhead
	Mrs McConkie	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mrs Margaret Arthur			ditto	from Helensburgh
	Mrs John Wilson	residing with <b>Mr Robert Laird</b> 9 Grove Street	<b>Downie &amp; Laird West Coats Nursery</b>	ditto	from Leith (G D Cullen)
	Miss Jane Gibb	London Street		ditto	ditto
	Miss Kydd	29 India Place <b>Mrs Kydd</b>	<b>ladies' nurse</b>	report	
	Mr William Gellam	39 Canongate	<i>printer</i>	ditto	to London 12 January 1865
28 May 1857	Helen Scotland	21 Canongate	<i>dressmaker</i>	ditto	<b>John Macarthur grocer &amp; spirit merchant</b>
16 July 1857	Alexander Henry Lowe	7 Victoria Street	<i>student</i> <sup>6</sup>	ditto	<b>T &amp; R Mackintosh seedsmen</b>
	Miss A G Gorston	29 Clarence Street		ditto	
6 August 1857	Miss Kirkwood	15 Clerk Street		report	
	Miss Margaret Stott	76 Lauriston Place <b>John Stott</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Miss Isabella Stott	ditto		ditto	
	Robert Wishart	100 Hope Park end	<i>architect</i>	transfer	from St Andrews
	Mrs Andrew Lowe	7 Victoria Street		ditto	from Greenock
	Miss Alison Purves	28 Royal Circus <b>Alexander Lamont of Knockdow</b>	<b>Writer to the Signet</b>	ditto	from Haddington
	Isabella Findlay	23 Alva Street <b>Mrs Lyall</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Montrose
5 November 1857	Mr John Law	James Court, Lawnmarket	<i>mechanician</i>	report	
	Miss Marian Paterson	227 High Street	<i>dressmaker</i>	ditto	<b>John Adair tailor</b>

<sup>6</sup> Recommended to Committee of the Theological Hall upon his application to be admitted as a student 10 December 1857



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
12 November 1857	D Johnston		<i>student at Theological Hall</i>	transfer	from Hanover Street, Glasgow
	[blank] McLellan		ditto	ditto	ditto
	Peter Barr		ditto	ditto	ditto
10 December 1857	<b>Mr William Steven</b>	2 Pitt Street, Bonnington	grocer and wine merchant	report	45 Bridge Street & 37 Sandport Street
	Robert Mackenzie	Canongate Workhouse		ditto	
	Thomas Longstaff	Graham Street		ditto	
	Miss Catherine McMillan	Blind Asylum 58 & 38 Nicolson Street	matron	transfer	from Elgin Place, Glasgow
	Lilias Jamieson	106 Lauriston Place <b>Mrs Glen</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Walls, Shetland
	<b>Rev Peter Paterson</b>	12 St Leonards Street	<i>1837-1857 pastor at Walls</i>		on their own application
	Mrs Paterson	ditto		ditto	
7 January 1858	Miss Lilias Jamieson	with <b>Mr Stott</b> 76 Lauriston Place		report	
	Miss Mackenzie	2 Salisbury Square		ditto	
	John Mackenzie		<i>student</i>	transfer	from Elgin
11 March 1858	Mrs Thomas Cumming sr	7 Victoria Street		report	
	George Wilson jr	10 Royal Exchange <b>George Wilson</b>	<b>inspector of weights &amp; measures, City Chambers Office</b>	report	
	Sarah Sloan	5 Home Street <b>Gilbert Sloan</b>	<b>shoemaker</b>	ditto	
	Agnes Sloan	ditto		ditto	
	Mary Sinclair			transfer	from Walls, Shetland to Queensland 22 June 1865
15 April 1858	Miss Jessie Cowan	49 South Clerk Street <b>William Cowan</b>	<b>brass founder and gas meter maker 60 Buccleuch Street</b>	report	to Kensington, London 18 June 1863

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
10 June 1858	Mr Reid	100 Lauriston Place		report	
	Mrs Reid	ditto		ditto	
	Walter Greenoak Paterson			ditto <sup>7</sup>	
	Hannah Gomersal	with <b>Mr F B Douglas</b> 21 Moray Place	<b>advocate</b>	ditto	
	Mary Robertson	29 Queen Street	<i>dressmaker</i>	ditto	moved to Dundee 23 December 1858
	Miss Law	3 Arthur Place <b>David McDonald</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mr William Richardson			transfer	(former members) from the church in Coldspingo, Canada West
	Mrs Richardson			ditto	ditto
15 July 1858	Jessie Love	9 Hill Square <b>M&amp;J Love</b>	<b>milliners</b>	report	
7 October 1858	Miss Liliash Smith			transfer	on return from Walls, Shetland
	Agnes Brown			ditto	from Ward Chapel Dundee
	Barbara Soutar			ditto	from Albany Street
	Jane Malcolm			ditto	from Albany Street
	Elizabeth Henry	29 Buccleuch Place		report	
23 December 1858	Robina Pennant	at Mr White 6 Torphichen Street		ditto	
	John Monteith Gibb	18 Broughton Street		ditto	
	Mrs Gibb	ditto		ditto	
	Mrs William Steven	2 Pitt Street Bonnington		ditto	<b>W Steven, merchant</b>

<sup>7</sup> The pastor read a certificate from a Presbyterian church in Cincinnati US. He had been a member there under the name of Thomas Greenoak. As more information was required, two members were asked to meet Mr Paterson and report to the church meeting. (Minute 11 March 1858 p.108)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	<b>John Wicks</b>	53 Frederick Street	surgeon-dentist	report	
	Mrs Wicks	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Barron	ditto		ditto	
	William McCallum			transfer	from Stirling
	James Douglas jr (of Cavers)	34 Moray Place		transfer	from Hawick to Hawick 12 November 1863
	Mrs Douglas			ditto	ditto
10 February 1859	Miss Stewart	at Mrs Erskine Randolph Cliff		ditto	from Stirling
	Mr R C McKean	3 Great King Street		transfer	from Dublin Street Baptist Church
	Jessie Morrison			ditto	from Albany Street
	Isabella Ritchie	18 Broughton Street <b>James Charles</b>		report	<b>smith &amp; furnishing ironmonger 8 North St Andrew Street</b>
21 April 1859	Betsy Paterson	32 Dundas Street		ditto	
	Miss Evans	with Miss Bryce 20 Cumberland Street <b>William Bryce</b>	<b>architect</b>	ditto	to Liverpool 21 November 1861
	Agnes Wood	8 Carnegie Street <b>Isabella Inglis</b>	<b>dressmaker</b>	ditto	to Glasgow 12 November 1863
16 June 1859	<b>Mr Thomas Dall</b>	3 Abercromby Place	accountant	report	
	Mr John Macfarlane	1 Stead's Place, Leith Walk <b>Robert McFarlane</b>	<b>Robert McFarlane &amp; Son wirecloth manufacturers</b>	transfer	from Wandsworth, London to Albany Street 16 November 1865
	Mr Thomas Paul	5 Craigside Place <b>T Cochrane</b>	<b>P T Mission</b>	ditto	from Dundee (Rev A Hannay) to Airdrie 1 July 1869

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mr Alexander Sutherland			transfer	from Richmond Place
	Mrs Sutherland			ditto	ditto to Richmond Place 5 June 1873 after death of her husband
	Mr John Sutherland			ditto	ditto
30 June 1859	Elizabeth Urquhart	62 George Street <b>Mrs Gould</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report <sup>8</sup>	
28 July 1859	Mr George C Stewart	24 Gayfield Square		ditto	
	Mrs Stewart	ditto		ditto	
	Mr Peter McPherson	Trinity	<i>goods manager, Eastern Railway</i>	ditto	to Dundee 13 November 1862
	Mrs McPherson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	David Wood	Bonnington		ditto	
	Miss Harvey	21 Regent Terrace <b>George Harvey R S A</b>	<b>historical painter</b>	transfer	from Brighton
25 August 1859	Andrew Henderson	6 Union Street		report	
	Robert Kemp	10 South St James Street <b>Miss Easton</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	to Glasgow 28 June 1860
	Alexander Simpson	10 South St James Street <b>James Simpson</b>	<i>warehouseman</i> <b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	William Smith	2 Brown Place		ditto	
17 November 1859	Mrs J Bartholomew	8 Comely Green Place		report	
	Elizabeth Davidson	with Mr Murray 8 James Square <b>Abijah Murray</b>	<b>sheriff officer</b>	ditto	
	Joanna Murray	ditto		ditto	

<sup>8</sup> She had a certificate from Rev Alexander Fletcher, London, dated 1854 but had not been in communion with a sister church since that time. (Minute 16 June 1859 p.140)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Ellen Smith	15 Clarendon Crescent <b>Major Macdougall</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Lerwick
	Mrs Petrie			ditto	from Falkirk
	Barbara Duncan			ditto	returned from Stirling
	William McCallum		<i>student</i>	ditto	from Stirling
	Thomasina Clark			ditto	from Newport, Fife to Australia 13 March 1862
15 December 1859	Alexander McLaren	42 George Square <b>James McLaren</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	William Crow			transfer	from Duncanston
	Jane Smith	29 Stafford Street <b>Mrs John Arcus</b>	<b>lodgings</b>	transfer	from Arbroath
19 January 1860	Mr French	259 Canongate	<i>turnkey in the gaol</i>	report	
9 February 1860	Elizabeth Morrison			transfer	from London (Rev A Raleigh)
	William Turnbull	50 Clerk Street Donaldson & Co	drapers	ditto	from Richmond Place
	Mrs W L Craig			ditto	from Glasgow (Rev A Fraser)
	Miss Lyon			ditto	from Tunbridge Wells returned to London 18 June 1863
	Peter Barclay	10 Gifford Park		report	
15 March 1860	<b>Mr William Rose</b>	49 London Street	wright	transfer	from Albany Street
	Mrs Rose	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mr Isaac Bartholomew	3 Duncan Street Newington		transfer	from Dr Legge's Leicester
	Elsie Clark			ditto	from Newport, Fife
	Robert Bruce	Grange Place	<i>Blind Asylum</i>	report	
	Miss Lily Muir	Anchor Hall		ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	John Taylor	5 Buccleuch Place		report	
	Mrs Taylor	ditto		ditto	
3 May 1860	Elizabeth Henry	54 Buccleuch Street		transfer	from Huntly
	Mr John Tough		<i>recently engaged as missionary</i> <sup>9</sup>	ditto	from Linlithgow
	Mrs Thomas Dall			transfer	from St Andrews Free Church (Rev Dr Bruce)
31 May 1860	Mrs Tough			ditto	from Linlithgow
28 June 1860	Isabella Phimister			ditto	from Wick
	Jane Ronald <b>J Ronald</b>	55 Bridge Street Fisherrow	<b>hairdresser</b>	transfer	from Stirling
	Mrs Ure	121 Princes Street		ditto	ditto to Southport 6 May 1875
	Mrs Shillinglaw	48 South Clerk Street <b>Misses Guthrie &amp; Paterson</b>	<b>milliners</b>	report	
	Mrs Hall	23 Waterloo Place	Waterloo Reading Rooms	ditto	
	Miss Ann Peterson	25 Buccleuch Place <b>Mrs John Murray</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	William Sanderson	25 Bread Street		ditto	
9 August 1860	Miss Currie	24 George IV Bridge		ditto	
	Miss Henderson	35 Lothian Street		ditto	
11 October 1860	William Allan	8 Duncan Street	painter	transfer	from the church at Beechworth, Victoria, Australia
	Mrs Tennant	14 Gifford Park		transfer	from Stirling to Airdrie 17 December 1868
	David Robertson	96 Canongate		ditto	from Albany Street

<sup>9</sup> It was later agreed to put Mr Tough under the superintendence of Edinburgh City Mission. (Minute 31 May 1860 p.163)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Charlotte Clark	3 Doune Terrace		transfer	from Newport, Fife to Australia 13 March 1862
	Andrew Grieve	Drumdryan Cottage		report	
	Mrs Grieve	ditto		ditto	
22 December 1860	William Murray	Spence's Place		transfer	from Peterhead
	Jane Wood	44 Blacket Place <b>Misses Anderson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from New Lanark
	Mr Paice		<i>student</i>	ditto	from Holyhead
	James Limmond		ditto	ditto	from Aberdeen
	William Weir		ditto	ditto	from Glasgow (Forbes)
	Margaret Kirkwood	Abbotsford Park		report	
	Barbara Halcrow	15 College Street		report	
	Agnes Philip	with Miss King 14 Castle Street		ditto	
	William J Aymers	169 Pleasance		ditto	
10 January 1861	William Symington jr	High Street		ditto	
	John Johnston	Mayfield Loan		ditto	
	<b>Dr William Burn Murdoch</b>	5 Melville Street	MD surgeon	ditto	
	Euphemia McDougall	6 Chapel Street <b>Mrs McDougall</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	to Haddington 21 July 1864 (now Mrs McLellan)
	Alice Stevenson			transfer	from Queensferry
	Mary Farquhar			transfer	from Arbroath
14 February 1861	Miss Elvert	with <b>Miss Elliot</b> 23 Windsor Street		report	boarding school
	Thomas Wilkie	32 Mid Arthur Place		ditto	
4 April 1861	Mrs Andrew Mure	35 Dublin Street <b>Andrew Mure</b>	<b>advocate</b>	report	to Shetland 16 November 1865

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mary Baird	8 Blacket Place <b>Thomas Cooper</b>	<i>servant</i>	ditto	Thomas Cooper & Co button factor and wholesale warehouseman, 1&2 South Bridge, 2 North Bridge
	Mary Fyfe	with Mr Wood Bonnington		transfer	from George Street, Aberdeen returned to Dunfermline 22 January 1863
13 June 1861	Ellen Ann Jamieson	with Mr Longstaff		ditto	from Lerwick
	Lydia Laing	11 NW Circus Place		ditto	from Castle Street, Dundee
	James Moffat	37 Candlemaker Row <b>Mrs J &amp; H Ross</b>	<b>milliners</b>	report	
	Mrs Forbes Gow	429 Lawnmarket <b>Forbes Gow</b>		ditto	
	Andrew Beveridge	15 High Riggs		report	
25 July 1861	Charlotte Halcrow	with <b>Mrs Clarkson</b> 34 London Street	Alexander Clarkson, agent (son)	transfer	from Walls, Shetland
	Mary Jane McDowall	11 Lothian Street <b>Thomas McDowall</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Miss Aurelia Stott	Cockburnhill <b>J H Stott</b>	<b>farmer</b>	ditto	
	Mr David Anderson	4 Lapside Place, Leith 10 Hill Place		report transfer	to London 5 June 1873 returned from London 13 November 1873
	Mrs Anderson	ditto ditto		ditto ditto	ditto ditto
	J C Smith	Bonnington <b>William Smith</b>	<b>gardener</b>	ditto	



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
1 November 1861 <sup>10</sup>	Miss Henderson			transfer	from Jedburgh
	George Gray			ditto	from Culsalmond
	John Smith			ditto	from Staindrop, Durham to Queensland 22 June 1865
	Mrs Millar			ditto	from Dublin Street Baptist Church
	John Allan Dow	9 Crichton Street		report	
	Mr Veitch	1 Hill Square		ditto	
	Mrs Veitch	ditto		ditto	
	Mr Daniel Nichol	42 Thistle Street <b>George Dobbie</b>	<b>painter</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Nichol	ditto		ditto	
16 January 1862	Mr W Alexander		Messrs Cockburn & Co wine merchant (father of Rev W Lindsay Alexander) <sup>11</sup>	transfer	from Dublin Street Baptist Church
	Mrs Alexander	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Miss Alexander	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Miss Henderson			transfer	from Newcastle to Laurencekirk 22 January 1863
	Mrs W G Reddie			report	
	Miss Kirkwood	Abbotsford Park		ditto	
13 February 1862	Alexander Hay			transfer	from Albany Street
	Mrs Hay			ditto	ditto
	George Harvey			ditto	certificate from Rev G D Cullen

<sup>10</sup> The new building, named Augustine Church, on George IV Bridge had been dedicated on 8 November 1861 with the first Sunday services two days later.

<sup>11</sup> James Ross, *W. Lindsay Alexander: His Life and Work* (London: James Nisbet & Co. 1887) p.2

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admission	Notes
	<b>Rev George D Cullen</b>	28 Royal Terrace	1822-1856 pastor of the Congregational Church, Constitution Street, Leith <sup>12</sup>	transfer	upon his own application, his long and consistent Christian character being well known to the church returned to Leith 19 November 1884
	Mrs Cullen			ditto	Certificate from Rev G D Cullen
	<b>Mr J J Millidge</b>	6 Mansfield Place	jewellers & watchmakers	report	Millidge & Son 28 Princes Street
	Mrs Millidge	ditto		transfer	From Bristol Place Baptist Church
	George Wood	26 <sup>th</sup> Regiment Castle	<i>soldier</i>	report	
	Miss Taylor	15 South Richmond Street		ditto	
	Samuel G Mulley	22 Charles Street <b>Robert Chisholm</b>	<b>cowfeeder</b>	ditto	
13 March 1862	John Knox	35 Earl Gray Street		ditto	
	Miss Whyte	7 S E Circus Place		ditto	to Cheltenham 13 November 1862 returned 18 June 1863
	John White	121 Princes Street		ditto	
	Mrs White	ditto		ditto	
29 May 1862	Elizabeth Moir	at Mr Thomson's 18 India Street		transfer	from Richmond Place
	Margaret Goldie	25 Arthur Street		report	
	John Moses	Lord Russell Place		ditto	
	William Auld jr	Talbot Place		ditto	

<sup>12</sup> Lindsay Alexander was received as a member of this church on 29 October 1826 (ibid. p.18).

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	George Pendreigh	3 George Place Leith <b>Mrs James Aikman</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
26 June 1862	David Syme	7 Crichton Street		ditto	
	John Syme	ditto		ditto	
	Alex McLay	15 New Street		ditto	
	James Paton	37 Thistle Street		ditto	to Albany Street 17 December 1868
17 July 1862	Mr D Short			transfer	from Dunfermline
	Mrs Short			ditto	ditto
	Mr James McOwan			ditto	ditto
	Mrs McOwan			ditto	ditto
	Agnes Jamieson			ditto	from Walls, Shetland
	Mrs Pendreigh			ditto	from Dublin Street Baptist Church
	Mrs Dow	7 Crichton Street		report	
	Ellen Rogers	9 Grove Street		ditto	
13 November 1862	Margaret Jamieson	with Mrs Scott 16 Rankeillor Street		transfer	from Walls, Shetland
	Agnes McLaren			ditto	from Brighton
	Mr W H Neil			ditto	from Panmure Street, Dundee to London 16 November 1865
	Mrs Neil			ditto	ditto
	Mrs Patteson			ditto	from Elgin Place, Glasgow
	Miss Patteson			ditto	ditto
	Mrs John McFarlane			transfer	from Greenhithe, Kent
	<b>Mrs Captain Irvine</b>	22 Blacket Place	no occupation	report	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admission	Notes
25 December 1862	Elizabeth Murray			transfer	from the church under the pastoral care of Rev Alexander Thomson, Manchester to Albany Street 18 June 1863 to Arbroath 10 January 1867 (now Mrs Goldsmith)
	Mrs Harriet JG Millar	George Square		ditto	from Zion Chapel, Bristol
	George G Goldie	15 Brown Street <b>Mrs W Lindsay</b>	<b>lodgings</b>	ditto	from Union Chapel, London
	William Elder	Lothian Street		ditto	ditto to Stirling 18 June 1863
	Mrs J T Hunter	Morningside		report	
	Elizabeth Thomson	48 Buccleuch Street <b>P J Connelly</b>	<b>printer</b>	ditto	
	Miss Law			ditto	
22 January 1863	Robert Campbell	9 Graham Street		transfer	from Richmond Place
	Mrs Campbell	ditto		ditto	ditto
	W Durham			ditto	from Thatcham (a former member)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mrs Anderson	Fountainbridge House		transfer	from Albany Street to South Shields 17 December 1868
	Henrietta Anderson			ditto	ditto
	Annie Anderson			ditto	ditto <sup>13</sup> to Greenock 5 December 1867
29 January 1863	Thomas McDougall	Eskmills		report	
	Mrs McDougall	ditto		ditto	
19 February 1863	Alexander Penman	10 Ashley Buildings		ditto	
	Georgina Murray			transfer	from Richmond Place (a former member)
	Mary Ann Bruce			ditto	from Dunfermline returned 12 January 1865
	Margaret Michie			ditto	from New Pitsligo
	Rose Clark			ditto	from Ward Chapel, Dundee returned 23 March 1865
9 April 1863	<b>David Johnston</b>	3 Leven Street	no occupation	report	
	Mrs Johnston	ditto		ditto	
	Jessie McPherson	50 Rankeillor Street <b>Mrs McPherson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Alexander Goldsmith			transfer	from Kirkcaldy
	William Urquhart			ditto	from Panmure Street, Dundee

<sup>13</sup> The pastor stated that the last certificate stated “that the church were not satisfied with the reasons for which these members were leaving it” but as they themselves must be regarded as the best judges upon that point, and as nothing was alleged against their Christian character, there seemed no ground for refusing to receive them. (Minute 22 January 1863 pp. 220-221)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
18 June 1863	Daniel Clark jr	47 Couper Street, Leith <b>Robert Milner</b>		report	<b>surgeon &amp; apothecary 57 Bridge Street</b>
	Mrs Clark	ditto		ditto	
	C B Black	38 Drummond Place		report	son of <b>Adam Black</b>
	Ellen Shirra			transfer	from Falkirk
16 July 1863	Robert Crawford	Windmill House Windmill Street		report	to Rev Robertson's Church Newington (United Presbyterian) 23 March 1865
	Adam Hardie	Oakfield House		ditto	to Arbroath 10 November 1864 (see 16 November 1865)
12 November 1863	<b>Mr P Graham</b>	17 Dundas Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	<b>Mrs M Bower</b>	1 Rankeillor Street	<b>no occupation</b>		
	Margaret Darling			transfer	from Dalkeith to Dumfries 28 December 1871
	Miss Jane Watson			ditto	from Blackfriars Street Aberdeen to Ceres, Fife 30 April 1868
	Miss Anne Watson			ditto	ditto ditto
	William Reid			ditto	from Perth
10 December 1863	<b>Andrew Barrie</b>	43 Princes Street	<b>jeweller</b>	report	
	Mrs Barrie	ditto		ditto	
	Alexander Barrie	ditto		ditto	
	<b>Alexander Cowan</b>	2 Sylvan Place	<b>silver plater &amp; saddlers' ironmonger</b>	ditto	<b>433 Lawnmarket</b>
	Mrs Cowan	ditto		ditto	
	Agnes Greenoak Patterson	54 South Bridge <b>W G Patterson</b>	<b>bookseller</b>	ditto	<b>4 North College Street</b>

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mr A B Foulis	2 Lauriston Terrace		report	
	Mrs Foulis	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Jane Simson	54 Frederick Street <b>George W Simson</b>	<b>teacher</b>	ditto	G.W. & Miss Simson <sup>14</sup>
	Christian Barnes			transfer	from Lanark to Richmond Place 23 June 1864
	Rev D B Mackenzie		former pastor of the church in Doune		upon his own application, his Christian walk and character being known to the church
7 January 1864	John Douglass	35 Home Street		report	
	<b>Henry Gordon Gibson</b>	26 India Street	<b>W S</b>	ditto	<b>J and H G Gibson</b>
	Mrs Gibson	ditto		ditto	
	James Galloway	80 Potterrow <b>Andrew McKechey</b>	<b>bricklayer</b>		
	<b>Mr Robert MacFarlane</b>	1 St Cuthbert Glebe	<b>painters, glaziers and dealers in paper hangings</b>	ditto	<b>MacFarlane &amp; Wallace 7 Charlotte Place</b>
	Mrs MacFarlane	ditto		ditto	
	Miss MacFarlane	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Rachel MacFarlane	ditto		ditto	
11 February 1864	Lydia Wood	59 Castle Street <b>Mrs Scott</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Rendall returned 16 November 1865

<sup>14</sup> Simson's Institution (for drawing and painting) at same address

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mary Harrower	21 Lothian Road <b>Misses Gray</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Doune returned 10 November 1864
	William Knight	Stockbridge		ditto	from the church in Camden Town (Rev'd Harrison) to Albany Street 21 December 1865
	Mrs Duncan	Mound		ditto	from Albany Street
	Mrs Reid	118 Princes Street		ditto	from Glasgow
	Mrs T Bird	3 Nicolson Square <b>Thomas Bird</b>	<b>milliner</b>	report	<b>26-27 South Bridge</b>
	Mrs Alexander	16 Hart Street <b>Duncan Irvine</b>	<b>National Bank</b>	ditto	
	Miss Taylor	ditto		ditto	
	Miss J M Duncan	30 Charlotte Square <b>Dr J Matthews Duncan</b>	<b>FRCP MD</b>	ditto	
	<b>James Pringle</b>	2 East Broughton Place	<b>clerk</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Pringle	ditto		ditto	
17 March 1864	Miss Mackenzie	37 Arthur Place		ditto	
	James Barton Bell <sup>15</sup>	37 Candlemaker Row <b>Misses Ross</b>	<b>milliners</b>	ditto	to Aberfeldy as pastor 24 November 1870
	Andrew Murray			transfer	from Newcastle (former member)
	George Cumming			ditto	from Ward Chapel, Dundee to Free Church 30 May 1867
	Mrs Cumming			ditto	ditto

<sup>15</sup> Unanimous approval given for his application for admission to Theological Hall “in order to prepare himself for the ministry of the Gospel” (Minute 10 January 1866 p.265)



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
23 June 1864	Miss Marian Stott	17 Fettes Row <b>Mrs D Stott</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	married and gone to England 16 November 1865
	Matthew Baird	22 Home Street <b>David Whitten</b>	<b>builder Lothian Road</b>	ditto	20 June 1872 to the new church in Dalry district (with Mrs Baird)
	Ann Wood	37 Great King Street <b>John Balfour</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Kirkwall ( Rev R Price) married and moved to Leith 3 June 1875
	Elizabeth Russell	1 Meadow Place		ditto	from Leith (Rev W J Cox)
21 July 1864	Mrs Bower	Grindlay Street <b>Robert Bower</b>	<b>GPO</b>	ditto	from Albany Street
	Mrs Mackenzie	Riddles Court, High Street		ditto	ditto to Glasgow 10 January 1867
	Miss Bower	1 Rankeillor Street <b>Mrs M Bower</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
4 August 1864	Henry Clark	23 Duke Street, Leith		ditto	
	<b>John Gilray</b>	6 Carlung Place	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Gilray	ditto		ditto	
10 November 1864	Jane Johnston	with <b>Mrs Percy Henderson</b> 16 Buckingham Terrace	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Lerwick to Liverpool 23 March 1865
	Sarah Keay	ditto		ditto	ditto to Liverpool 23 March 1865
	George Rutherford			ditto	from Perth to Kilsyth 13 November 1873
	Mrs Rutherford			ditto	ditto ditto
	William Williams	31 India Street		ditto	from Elgin Place, Glasgow to Wales 30 April 1868

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Peter Paterson jr	15 Buccleuch Place <b>John Paterson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Miss Anna Maria Tregilgar	9 Brighton Street		ditto	
8 December 1864	Miss Fraser Nicolson	(Dr Begbie's) 10 Charlotte Square <b>Dr James Begbie</b>	<b>MD</b>	transfer	from Laurencekirk to Richmond Place 7 December 1871
	Miss Nicolson	6 Johnston Place, Stockbridge <b>Mrs Martha Fairbairn</b>	<b>ladies' nurse</b>	ditto	from Lerwick
	Alexander Thomson	Portobello		ditto	from Portobello to America 21 December 1865
	David Currie	Catherine Bank Bonnington <b>James Currie</b>	<b>chocolate manufacturers &amp; agents 25 George IV Bridge</b>	ditto	from Lindsay Street, Dundee
	Mrs Currie	ditto		ditto	ditto returned to Dundee 22 June 1865 after death of her husband
	Miss Spence	5 Oxford Street, Newington		report	
	Miss Catherine Muir	Archers Hall		ditto	
	Mrs M Baird	5 Canning Place		ditto	see p.105 Matthew Baird
	<b>Robert Clark</b>	4 Lynedoch Place	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
12 January 1865	Andrew Cameron			transfer	from Montrose
	Mary Inkster			ditto	from Harray, Shetland to Harray 30 May 1867

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	William Paterson			transfer	from Reswick, Shetland returned to Shetland 16 November 1865
	Betsy Jamieson			ditto	from Walls, Shetland
	Anne Johnston			ditto	from Upper Clapham, London
	Margaret Mason			ditto	from Blackheath, London
	J R Henderson	3 Rosemount Terrace		ditto	from Albany Street
	Mrs Henderson	ditto		report	
	William Mitchell	21 Lothian Street		ditto	
	Mrs Mitchell	ditto		ditto	
	Thomas Innes	39 Barony Street <b>Adam M Innes</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Miss Cassie	residing with Mr Fairgrieve 1 Sylvan Place <b>Thomas Fairgrieve</b>	<b>chemist &amp; druggist</b>	ditto	<b>46 Clerk Street</b>
23 March 1865	James Watt	23 Leven Street		ditto	
	Mrs Watt	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Linklater	6 Johnston Place, Stockbridge <b>Mrs Martha Fairbairn</b>	<b>ladies' nurse</b>	transfer	from Lerwick
18 May 1865	Daniel Stevenson	7 Grindlay Street		report	
	Miss B Herriot	11 Rankeillor Street <b>W A Gray</b>	<b>MD</b>	ditto	
	Charlotte Cormack			transfer	from Dee Street, Aberdeen
	Barbara Malcolmson			ditto	from Sandwick
	Alexander Horne			ditto	from Banff

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
22 June 1865	Mr R B Dawson	16 Montague Street		transfer	from Leith
	Mrs Dawson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	William Paterson	7 Hill Square		ditto	ditto
	<b>Mr D Millar</b>	Mansefield Cottage, Bellevue	<b>builder &amp; pavement merchant</b>	ditto	from Albany Street
	Mrs Millar	ditto		ditto	ditto
	<b>Mr William Rodgers</b>	10 Holyrood Terrace	<b>clerk North British Railway</b>	ditto	from Albany Street
	Mrs Rodgers	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mary Leechman	with <b>Miss Syme</b> 14 Dundas Street	<i>servant</i> <b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Thomas McMurtrie	21 Barony Street <b>Mrs Barker</b>	<b>grocer</b>	ditto	
	Mrs McMurtrie	ditto		ditto	
	Gershom McKenzie	2 Rockville Place <b>James Gordon</b>	<b>artist</b>	ditto	
27 July 1865	Anne Finlayson			transfer	from Sullom, Shetland to Free St Bernard's 5 November 1874
	Elizabeth Lyall			ditto	from Glasgow Rev D Russell to Barclay Church 1 July 1869
	Sarah Coates			ditto	from York, Rev J Parsons
	Caroline Smith			ditto	from Harrogate
	Alexander Anderson			ditto	from Rhynie Rev J Anderson
	James Burnet			ditto	from Portobello Rev W Lowe
	Mrs Burnet			ditto	ditto
	Jemima Hall			ditto	from Elie

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Alexander Hammond	16 East Norton Place <b>J T Atkinson</b>	<b>deputy-comptroller GPO</b>	report	
	Andrew Chisholm	3 Cambridge Street <b>David Chisholm</b>	<b>writer</b>	ditto	to Arbroath 5 November 1874
	Frances Rogers	14 Lothian Road <b>Alexander Cunningham</b>	<b>grocer</b>	ditto	daughter of Mr J Rogers <b>15 Earl Grey Street</b>
	Jessie Wood	residing with Mr <b>James R Dymock</b> 30 Buccleuch Place	<b>tea &amp; wine merchants<sup>16</sup></b>	report	to New Zealand 13 November 1873
	James Fries	22 Bread Street		ditto	
	Mr R Graham	12 Sciennes Place		ditto	
16 November 1865	Adam Hardie			transfer	from Aberdeen Rev D Arthur (former member) to Leith 24 November 1870
	Mrs Hardie			ditto	ditto (former member)
	Agnes Gillespie			ditto	from Aberdeen Rev D Arthur
	Mr David E Irons <sup>17</sup>			ditto	from Perth
	Mr J D Hendry			ditto	from Dunfermline 20 June 1872 to new church in Dalry district
	Mrs Hendry			ditto	ditto ditto
	Margaret Scott			ditto	from Montrose
	Isabella Johnston			ditto	returned from London

<sup>16</sup> Dymock and Guthrie 16 Nicolson Street

<sup>17</sup> Application to be received as a student at the Theological Hall approved considered and certificate as to the church's confidence in his Christian character granted. (Minute 28 February 1867)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Agnes Oliver	6 Duncan Street, Newington <b>J McLaren</b>	<b>boot &amp; shoemaker (house 20 Drummond Place)</b>	report	to England 10 January 1867
	Robert Pringle	17 Simon Square		ditto	
	Alexander S Michie	4 Broughton Place East		ditto	
	Thomas Cowie	9 Melville Terrace		ditto	
	Mrs Cowie	ditto		ditto	
	Sarah Noble	18 Lothian Street		ditto	
21 December 1865	Mrs Irons			transfer	from Perth
	Miss Ann Irons			ditto	ditto
	Miss Isabella Irons			ditto	ditto
	James Campbell Irons	Bertha Villa Trinity		ditto	ditto to Albany Street 23 November 1873 <sup>18</sup>
	Barbara Jamieson			ditto	from Walls, Shetland to Richmond Place 7 December 1871
	Miss Cullen			ditto	from Albany Street
	John Sives			ditto	from Thurso
	Joan Black			ditto	from London (Dr Spence)
	<b>William Miller</b>	59 George Square	<b>SSC and master extraordinary in Chancery</b>	report	
	Mrs Thomas Grieve	40 Home Street <b>Thomas Grieve</b>	<b>grocer &amp; wine merchant</b>	ditto	

<sup>18</sup> His address at that date is Bertha Villa Trinity and his wife (unnamed) also moved to Albany Street.

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
10 January 1866	Mary Erskine	residing at 98 Abbey Hill		report	
8 March 1866	John Brown	11 Roxburgh Terrace		ditto	
	Mrs Brown	ditto		ditto	
	Maxwell Crosbie			transfer	from London
	Mrs Crosbie			ditto	ditto
19 April 1866	Mrs Davy	61 Clerk Street		ditto	from Harrogate
	Miss Eagle Henderson			ditto	from Albany Street
	George Thomson	53 Pilrig Model Buildings		report	
14 June 1866	Miss Fries	22 Bread Street		ditto	
		<b>David Orr</b>	<b>letter carrier</b>		
	George Jack	4 Old Broughton		ditto	to Dublin 1 July 1869
	Elizabeth Wells	26 Carnegie Street		ditto	
		<b>Mrs John Wright</b>	<b>midwife and ladies' nurse</b>		
	Miss Rogan	37 Manor Place		ditto	
	Miss Gilchrist	ditto		ditto	
	<b>Andrew Aitken</b>	6 Mansfield Place	<b>wholesale tea and coffee dealers</b>	ditto	<b>James Aitken &amp; Co 1 Greenside Place</b>
	Lydia Bremner	residing at 12 Picardy Place		transfer	from Rhynie
	Ellen McLeish	ditto		ditto	from Panmure Street Dundee to Perth 5 June 1873
	William Allan	36 Alva Street		ditto	from Banff
	Mrs Allan	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Margaret Bothwell	6 Clarence Street		ditto	from Woodside Aberdeen
	Miss A Cockburn	14 Canning Place		transfer	from Richmond Place
		<b>D Grant</b>	<b>no occupation</b>		
19 July 1866	Miss Mary Francis	124 Princes Street		report	
		<b>Mrs Thomas Kay</b>	<b>no occupation</b>		

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
10 January 1867	<b>Mr Mack</b>			transfer	from Dalkeith
	Mrs Mack			ditto	ditto
	Joseph Horne			ditto	from Inverurie to the south of England 7 April 1870
	Mr Menzies			ditto	from St Andrews
	Mrs Menzies			ditto	ditto
	Mr Abel	1 Rockville Place		report	left town 17 December 1868
	Mrs Abel	ditto		ditto	ditto
28 February 1867	Catherine Coventry	residing with Mrs Whyte 19 St Bernards Crescent <b>Matthew Whyte</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Albany Street
	Mrs Jack	Home Lane Stockbridge		report	
	Alexander McLauchlan	4 Gladstone Terrace		ditto	
	Miss Simpson	12 St Vincent Street		ditto	
	Mrs Williams	1 St Vincent Street		ditto	
4 April 1867	John Stewart	2 Dundas Street		ditto	
	Mrs Paton	3 Comely Green		ditto	
	Miss Catherine Grant	7 West Lauriston Place		ditto	
	Miss Mitchellina Grant	ditto		ditto	
30 May 1867	Mrs Dickson	17 Blacket Place <b>John Dickson sr</b>	<b>Dickson &amp; Son gunmakers 63 Princes Street</b>	transfer	from Camberwell Chapel London (Rev Mr Pillans)
	Miss Kennedy			ditto	from Stepney Chapel London under the pastorate of Rev Mr Kennedy, her brother



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
27 June 1867	Miss Agnes Fraser	residing at <b>Mr Archibald Parks</b> 16 Archibald Place	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Kirkcaldy
	Mrs Millar	47 Bristo Street		report	
	Miss Mary Harland	12 Carlton Terrace <b>James Cathcart</b>	<b>Cathcart, Ferguson &amp; Co<sup>19</sup></b>	ditto	to Musselburgh 1 July 1869
	Miss Jane Ovens	16 Ann Street <b>Robert Ross</b>	<b>Union Bank</b>	ditto	
18 July 1867	<b>Dr William Stephenson</b>	33 Buccleuch Place	<b>MD FRCSE</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Stephenson	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Pringle	11 Montague Street <b>R O Pringle</b>	<b>editor of <i>The Farmer</i></b>	ditto	
	Mrs Shepherd	Browns Close Canongate		ditto	
1 August 1867	Mrs Gilbert	East Victoria Place		ditto	
	Robert Anderson	3 Salisbury Terrace		ditto	to South Shields 17 December 1868
	Mrs Anderson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	<b>Mrs Hutson</b>	4 Clerk Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Miss Hall	ditto		ditto	sisters
7 November 1867	Mary Lyle	residing at Mrs McGregor 3 North Charlotte Street <b>Alex. Macgregor</b>	<b>architect</b>	transfer	from Laurencekirk (Rev Mr Noble)
	Jane Barclay			ditto	from Dundee (Mr Lang) daughter of our sister Mrs Barclay
	John Young	39 Prince Albert Buildings		ditto	from Duncanstone

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<sup>19</sup> wine merchants 90 St Andrews Street Leith

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Robert Martin	13 McDowal Street		transfer	from Dunfermline (Mr Robie) to Glasgow 13 November 1873
	Miss Agnes Forsyth	Mr Smith's 2 Rutland Square		ditto	from Falkirk (a former member)
	William Day		<i>come to attend Theological Hall</i>	ditto	from Aberdeen (Mr Arthur)
	Mademoiselle Schnell				on the testimony of her father, a Protestant clergyman in[blank]
	<b>Mrs Alexander Thomson</b>	16 Grindlay Street	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Mrs Cameron	57 Arthur Street		ditto	
	Miss Joanna Crease	Melville House George Square	Mr Thomson's School <sup>20</sup>	ditto	
	Miss Flora Rose	35 Broughton Place <b>William Rose</b>	<b>joiner &amp; cabinet maker</b>	ditto	daughter of our brother
5 December 1867	Miss Howieson	34 Dundas Street <b>Robert U Strachan</b>	<b>advocate</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Bladworth	3 Fingal Place		ditto	
	Miss Callam	32 East Preston Street <b>Mrs Spence</b> <b>Miss Spence</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mr Mackie	5 Hamilton Place Stockbridge		report	
	Mrs Mackie	ditto		ditto	

<sup>20</sup> Classes for Young Ladies and a Prep School for Boys. Pupils are received at five years of age. The course of instruction for young ladies extends to all the various branches of a polite education, and young gentlemen are prepared for entering any of the higher classical schools. Mr Thomson receives a limited number of young gentlemen as boarders. (1868-69 *Directory* Advertisement Section p.43)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	W Christie Bennet	33 Cumberland Street <b>Mrs Cornet</b>	<i>student</i>  <b>lodgings</b>	report	
9 January 1868	Miss Mary Nisbet	2 Beaumont Place <b>John Nisbet</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Miss Jane Nisbet	ditto		ditto	
	<b>Mr George Thomson</b>	14 Seton Place	<b>commercial traveller</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Thomson	ditto		ditto	
23 January 1868	Sarah Thomson	residing at Mrs Syme's St Mary's 8 Strathearn Road <b>William Syme</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Stirling to Glasgow 17 December 1868
27 February 1868	Mrs Irons	Bonnington		report	wife of our brother David E Irons
	John McLeish	44 Lothian Street <b>Peter Hay</b>	<b>grocer &amp; spirit merchant</b>	transfer	from Wardlaw Church Glasgow Rev Gilbert McCallum
	Isabella Duncan	Free Church Normal School Boarding House St John Street	student teacher (?)	ditto	from Millseat, Banffshire Rev George Saunders
	William McKenzie	2 Drumdryan Street		ditto	from Airdrie Rev Mr J R Atkinson (returned member)
	Mrs McKenzie	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Robert Henderson			ditto	from UP Church Leith signed by Dr Harper and Rev Mr Lyon (returned member)
	Mrs Henderson			ditto	ditto
30 April 1868	John Murker MA			ditto	from Banff

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
11 June 1868	<b>Mr Robert C Christie</b>	18 Montague Street	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Mrs Christie	ditto		ditto	
19 November 1868	Mrs Danforth	16 Melville Terrace <b>Mrs J B Macdonald</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from the Congregation al Church, Massachusetts, US
	Mr G B Danforth	ditto		ditto	her son, from the pastor of the Congregation al Church Amherst College
	John Smart	4 St Patrick Square	<b>Chambers &amp; Lawson masons</b>	ditto	from Montrose
	<b>Alexander White</b>	15 Drummond Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Liverpool
	Mr Anderson	Catherine Cottage Leith Walk		ditto	from Leith
	Mrs Anderson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Dr Walker	Clerk Street		ditto	from Portobello
	Mrs Walker	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mrs McPhail	18 Gladstone Terrace		transfer	from Shaftsbury to Glasgow 3 January 1873
	Robina Brown	13 Blair Street <b>James Gow</b>	<b>paper-ruler &amp; bookbinder</b> <sup>21</sup>	ditto	returned member
	<b>John Anderson</b>	18 Buccleuch Place	<b>indiarubber goods and shoe merchant</b>	ditto	ditto <b>101 Princes Street</b>
	John Rose	Broughton Place		report	son of our brother Mr Rose
	Henry Verbeke	10 Graham Street <b>Miss McPherson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	to London 1 July 1869

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<sup>21</sup> house 3 Bristo Place

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	<b>James Dippie</b>	19 Pitt Street	<b>J Livingstone &amp; Co hosiers, glovers and shirtmakers</b>	report	<b>37 Bristo Place</b>
	Irvine Hetherington	8 Cowgatehead		ditto	
	Mrs Daniel Clark			ditto	wife of our brother
17 December 1868	Mrs Charlotte Myles	74 St Leonards Street		transfer	from Newcastle
	John McPherson	2 Montague Street	<i>teacher</i>	report	
	Miss McMurtrie	4 Pitt Street Bonnington <b>Thomas McMurtrie</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mr R S Gray	3 Gayfield Place <b>Thomas Scott</b>	<b>CA 17 Hill Street</b>	ditto	
	Mr Mein	2 Rockville Place		ditto	
	Mrs Mein	ditto		ditto	
1 July 1869	Miss Ogilvy	6 Manor Place <b>Mrs Thomson</b>	<b>lodgings</b>	report	20 June 1872 to new church in Dalry district
	Mary Brown	Patriot Hall Buildings		ditto	
	Mr J Kitson Gladhew	2 Montague Street		ditto	
	James Johnstone	20 Rankeillor Street <b>Mrs John Johnstone</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mr A McDonald	7 Sciennes Hill <b>John Dobie</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Jane Foote	23 Dundas Street <b>John Foote</b>	<b>fruiterer</b>	ditto	daughter of our sister Mrs Foote
	<b>Mr Andrew Taylor</b>	7 Panmure Place	<b>agent for Callander Coal 9 Port Hamilton</b>	transfer	from Falkirk 20 June 1872 to new church in Dalry district
	Mrs Taylor	ditto		ditto	ditto ditto
	Marjory Inkster			transfer	from Harray

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	<b>Miss M M Anderson</b>	20 Mayfield Terrace	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from New Lanark
	Mrs McFarlane	ditto		ditto	ditto
22 July 1869	<b>Mr John S Common</b>	7 East Adam Street	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Mrs Common	ditto		ditto	
	Archibald Howieson	10 Torphichen Street		transfer	from Aberdeen
	Miss Banks	6 Dumbiedykes or Free Normal School		ditto	from Princes Street Dundee
	Mr W M Davies	56 George Street		ditto	from Brecon to Huntingdon 1 April 1875
12 December 1869	Margaret Moodie	at <b>Mrs John F McFarlan's</b> 4 Park Place	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Reawick Shetland
	James Stewart	at Mrs Brown's 1 Market Place		ditto	from Aberdeen
	Alexander Stephens	8 Athol Place		ditto	from Linlithgow 20 June 1872 to new church in Dalry district
	Mrs Stephens	ditto		ditto	ditto ditto
	Mr Romanis	7 Spittal Street		ditto	from Rev J Pulsford's (former member) to Leith 7 December 1871
	Mary Dorward	1 St Leonards Hill		ditto	from Montrose
	Margaret McLeod	Chalmers Hospital Lauriston		ditto	from Aberdeen to Greenock 7 April 1870
	Mr McNaughton			ditto	from Birmingham Rev Mr Dale
	Mrs McNaughton			ditto	ditto
	Mr Howarth	at Mrs Donaldson 23 Clerk Street <b>John Donaldson</b>	<i>student</i> <b>teacher</b>	ditto	from Ashton-under-Lynn

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	George McDonald	4 Lauriston Street		report	
	Mrs McDonald	ditto		ditto	to Arbroath 22 December 1870
	Miss Webster	Dick Place Grange		ditto	
	John Duncan	Wardrope Court Lawnmarket		ditto	
	Miss Linklater	8 St Patrick Square		ditto	
	<b>James Ledingham</b>	3 Argyle Place	<b>R Shiels &amp; Son</b>	ditto	<b>wholesale confectioners 5-7 Bristo Place retail 45 North Bridge</b>
	W Gibb	4 St Bernard's Crescent <b>William Sim</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
30 December 1869	Alexander Dorward	51 St Leonards Hill		ditto	
	William Cownie	4 Park Street <b>David Cownie</b>		ditto	<b>W Cownie &amp; Sons, general draper 5 Nicolson Street</b>
	Alice Hughes			transfer <sup>22</sup>	to London 5 November 1874
27 January 1870	Mr McMaster	11 Arthur Street		report	
24 February 1870	<b>Andrew Aikman</b>	8 St Catherine's Place	<b>Commercial Bank</b>	ditto	to Dundee 7 December 1871
	<b>James Paton</b>	15 Lonsdale Terrace	<b>Hugh Paton &amp; Sons<sup>23</sup></b>	ditto	to Glasgow 15 June 1876 (also Mrs Paton)
7 April 1870	Mrs McNamer	7 Brown Street <b>James Sinclair</b>	<b>mercantile accountant, Albany herald</b>	report	

<sup>22</sup> The Pastor read a certificate from Dr Townsend, Pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church Broomfield Massachusetts US, bearing testimony to the Christian character of Alice Hughes who had been connected with the church in Albany Street Edinburgh before going to America, and had connected herself with his church, there being no congregational church in the district; when she was cordially received into the fellowship of the church. (Minute 30 December 1869 p.312)

<sup>23</sup> printers & publishers, book & print sellers, picture cleaners, artists colourmen, carvers & gilders to the Queen and to the late Duchess of Kent, agents for Florentine marble ornaments & statuary 115 Princes Street, printing office & workshop 5 St James Square.

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	J A Falconer	5 Torphichen Street <b>A R Falconer</b>	<b>British Linen Co Bank</b>	report	
	Mrs Falconer	ditto		ditto	
	James Kinnear	5 Crichton Street		ditto	20 June 1872 to new church in Dalry district
18 May 1870	Henry Bird	59 George Square <b>William Miller</b>	<b>Fyfe, Miller &amp; Fyfe SSC</b>	ditto	
	Mr Watson	10 Comely Green Place <b>Frances Lawson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Watson	ditto		ditto	
24 November 1870	Mrs Colin Campbell	2 Hay Street		transfer	from Ewing Place, Glasgow
	William Finlay	Washing Green Court		ditto	from Rhynie
	William Monro			ditto	from Portobello
	John Archibald			transfer	from First Congregational Church, San Francisco returned 22 December 1870
	Mrs Archibald			ditto	ditto
	Hugh Fraser	Augustine Church		report	husband of the housekeeper
	William Inskip jr	Brougham Place <b>William Inskip</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Jane Walker Aitken	6 Mansfield Place <b>Andrew Aitken</b>	<b>James Aitken &amp; Co wholesale tea &amp; coffee dealers 10 Union Street</b>	ditto	to Plymouth Brethren 25 December 1873



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
22 December 1870	Jessie Bailey Peterson	71 South Clerk Street <b>Magnus Peterson</b>	<b>Peterson Bros. &amp; Co</b>	report	<b>general commission merchants Allison Place</b>
	Elizabeth Grant	Deanbank Institution <sup>24</sup>		ditto	
	Mary Ann Grant	8 Montague Street <b>Mrs Grant</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	married and to Aberdeen 13 November 1873
	Isabella Gibson	10 Windmill Street	<b>James Gibson &amp; Co</b> clothiers & outfitters 106 South Bridge	ditto	daughter of our brother, <b>James Gibson</b>
	Mrs McLeod	8 Washing Green Court		ditto	
	<b>Mr Robert Chisholm</b>	26 Grindlay Street	<b>Davidson &amp; Chisholm</b>	ditto	<b>builders &amp; joiners 57 Grove Street</b>
	Mrs Chisholm	ditto		ditto	
9 February 1871	Lucy Jane Bell	8 Royal Terrace <b>John S Shiels</b>	<b>wine merchant Constitution Street</b>	transfer	from Melrose
	Agnes Oliver	5 Fettes Row <b>Fleeming Jenkin FRSS. L&amp;E</b>	<b>Professor of Engineering Edinburgh University</b>	ditto	from Carlisle returned member
	George Sinclair	8 Barony Street <b>John Sinclair</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Lerwick
	Jane Stott	39 Gilmore Place	<b>J H Stott &amp; Son</b> leather merchants, gutta percha & rubber depot 12 Niddry Street	report	daughter of our brother <b>J H Stott</b>
	James Stacey	Manor Place		ditto	
13 April 1871	Miss Lind	3 Hope Park Terrace		transfer	from Broughty Ferry to Glasgow 16 April 1874

<sup>24</sup> for the reformation of juvenile female delinquents (Miss Tod, matron)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	<b>John Begg</b>	22 South Back Canongate	<b>currier</b>	transfer	from Richmond Place
	Mrs Begg	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Margaret Abernethy	at Mr <b>Patrick Dalmahoy's</b> 69 Queen Street	<b>W S Dalmahoy &amp; Cowan</b>	ditto	from Leith to Belfast 5 June 1873
	Georgina Abernethy	ditto	<b>12 Hill Street</b>	ditto	ditto to Dublin 16 April 1874 returned 7 January 1875
	William Sharp McKenzie	2 Tarbot Place		report	
	Thomas M L Hendry	West End Place		ditto	to Dundee 5 June 1873
	Mrs Hendry	ditto		ditto	ditto
25 May 1871	Mary Hill Bladworth	17 Meadow Place <b>Richard Bladworth</b>	<b>wholesale ironmonger 11 Melbourne Place</b>	ditto	
	Jessie Cowans	1 Crichton Street <b>Mrs James McBain</b>	<b>bookseller &amp; newsagent</b>	ditto	
19 July 1871	William McLeod	8 Washing Green Court		ditto	
	Alexander Robertson	17 Pitt Street <b>Miss Darling</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	<b>Francis More</b>	7 Buccleuch Place	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mrs More	ditto		ditto	
	Mrs R Bruce	3 Blackwood Crescent		ditto	
	Mr Sinclair	9 Blackwood Crescent <b>Mrs Archibald Sinclair</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Charles Grubb	1 Lothian Street (shop)	<b>William Gibson draper &amp; clothier</b>	ditto	<b>house 11 Lauriston Gardens</b>
	Mrs George Goldie			report	wife of our brother Mr Goldie

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
10 August 1871	George Reid	Randolph Place Lane		report	
	Mrs George Reid	ditto		transfer	from Portobello
7 December 1871	<b>Thomas H Cooper</b>	8 Blacket Place	<b>Cooper &amp; Co</b>	report	<b>wholesale warehousemen &amp; manufacturers 18 Market Street</b>
	Mr Peters	7 Salisbury Street		ditto	
	Mrs Peters	ditto		ditto	
	Helen Cownie	9 Hope Park Terrace <b>William Cownie</b>	<b>clothier &amp; general draper</b>	ditto	<b>5 Nicolson Street and 46 South Bridge</b>
	Jessie Cownie	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Jane Millar	8 Hailes Street <b>Hugh Millar</b>	<b>Dall &amp; Millar CA</b>	ditto	<b>38 Hanover Street</b>
	Miss Hamilton Millar	ditto		ditto	
	Benjamin Nicol	3 Lothian Street		ditto	20 June 1872 to new church in Dalry district
28 December 1871	David B Arnot	at Mr <b>Andrew Menzies</b> 166 Fountainbridge	<b>housecarpenter &amp; joiner Dalry Park</b>	ditto	ditto
	G M Wood	20 St Patrick Square		ditto	
	Mary Sutherland	112 George Street (shop)	<b>Misses Blyth, Yule &amp; Co milliners</b>	ditto	
	<b>Mr Richard Cobden McIntosh</b>	1 Carlung Place	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	returned to the communion of the Established Church 3 June 1875
	Mrs McIntosh	ditto		ditto	
	Jane Downie	at McFarlane's 4 Merchiston Avenue <b>Mrs Wardlaw McFarlane</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Rhynie

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	George Hill	12 Balfour Street Leith		transfer	from Monmouth (former member)
	Mary Ann White	7 Scotland Street		ditto	former member
21 March 1872	Jane Inkster	29 Grove Street <b>A D Mackenzie</b>	<b>Mackenzie &amp; Moncur joiners &amp; horticultural builders Upper Grove Place</b>	ditto	from Harray
	Mrs Alexander Durward	51 St Leonard's Hill		ditto	from Montrose
	<b>W B McLeod</b>	43 George Square	<b>dentist</b>	report	
	Robert Smith	6 Saunders Street		ditto	
	<b>David Gibb Cownie</b>	4 Park Street	<b>W Cownie &amp; Sons</b>	ditto	
16 May 1872	Alexander Ferguson	Lauriston Gardens		transfer	from Richmond Place (former members)
	Mrs Ferguson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Helen Millar	at Dr Coghill's 24 Heriot Row	<b>J G Sinclair Coghill MD FRCP</b>	transfer	from Banff
	John R Russell	13 Arthur Street		report	
	Alexander Ritchie	106 Gilmore Place <b>James Ritchie</b>	<b>clothier</b>	ditto	
	<b>Mr William Howie</b>	3 Cornwall Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Howie	ditto		ditto	
18 July 1872	Alexander Henry	<b>Mrs Gray's</b> 26 Rankeillor Street	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from the church at Denholm J McRoberts
	Elizabeth Telfer	at Mrs Ainslie's 26 Lauriston Gardens <b>John Ainslie</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	ditto
21 November 1872	William Grieve	2 Allison Square <b>Miss Janet Milne</b>	<b>dressmaker</b>	report	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Helen Reid	25 South Clerk Street	<b>no occupation</b>	report	daughter of member <b>Mrs William Reid</b>
	Ann Finlay	Washing Green Court		ditto	daughter of member <b>W Finlay</b>
	Mrs Crawford	George IV Bridge		transfer	from Newcastle Rev William Beeby
19 December 1872	Mrs W B McLeod	43 George Square		report	wife of member (p.124)
	Miss E S King	10 Castle Street <b>Misses King</b>	<b>lodgings</b>	ditto	
	<b>Edward Johnstone</b>	65 Lauriston Place	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Johnstone	ditto		ditto	
	Robina Leslie	5 Gillespie Crescent (business address)	<b>Adam Anderson &amp; Son</b>	ditto	<b>carting contractors (also coal merchants Morrison Street depot)</b>
	Catherine Coventry			transfer	from Innerleithen Rev Archibald Cree
3 January 1873	William Gilbert	10 Livingston Place		report	
	Thomas Duncan	9 Newington Terrace		ditto	
	Mrs Duncan	ditto		ditto	
	John Wood	1 Lord Russell Place	<b>clerk</b>	ditto	son of member <b>William Wood</b>
27 March 1873	Robina Coutts	residing at Mrs Stott's Warriston Green		transfer	from Lerwick
	William E S Hunter	19 Lady Menzies Place		ditto	son of Rev John Hunter, pastor of Frederick Street Church Aberdeen

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Symington Grieve			transfer	son of member <b>William Grieve</b> , from Craven Hill Chapel, London
	William Hope Reid	10 East Norton Place <b>Rev William H Reid</b>		report	to London 1 April 1875
	Mrs John Chatham	West Lauriston Place <b>John Chatham</b>	<b>Edinburgh gutta percha warehouse</b>	ditto	<b>431 Lawnmarket</b>
	Mrs James R Henderson	12 Gardners Crescent		ditto	
22 May 1873	James B Allan	25 Albany Street <b>William Grant</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Miss Allan	ditto		ditto	
19 June 1873	Mrs Maitland	8 Bonnington Terrace <b>David Smith</b>	<b>David Smith &amp; Co wine merchants</b>	ditto	<b>21 Quality Lane</b>
	William Hodge	26 Pitt Street		ditto	to Glasgow 3 June 1875
	Mrs Hodge	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mrs J J Capper			transfer	from Glasgow Dr Pulsford
	Ann Jane Hughes	15 Buccleuch Place		ditto	Rev D Williams Methodist Church Bethos y Coed North Wales to Wales 16 April 1874
13 November 1873	Peter Meldrum	39 Brunswick Street		report	to Leven 15 June 1875
	Mrs Meldrum	ditto		transfer	from Rhynie ditto
	Mary Jane Path	9 Whitehouse Terrace <b>Miss Donald</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from New Pitsligo
	Ann Gibb			ditto	from Aberdeen Rev Mr Arthur to Turiff 15 June 1876

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
25 December 1873	Mary Alban	37 Manor Place		report	
	Sarah Chambers Dorward	51 St Leonards Hill		ditto	Mrs A Dorward already a member
	Mr John Milne Dorward	ditto		ditto	
	Mrs George M Wood	Upper Grey Street		ditto	husband already a member
	Barbara Peterson	21 Buccleuch Place	<b>Peterson Bros. general commission merchants 126 Leith Walk</b>	ditto	father <b>John Peterson</b>
	Magnus Peterson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	William Peterson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Agnes Grieve	7 Blacket Place	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	father <b>Robert Grieve</b>
	Jane Grieve	Salisbury View Dalkeith Road	<b>no occupation</b>	report	mother <b>Mrs William Grieve</b> married Mr Howarth and removed to Ashton under Line 1 April 1875
	Eliza Grieve	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Isabella Grieve	ditto		ditto	ditto
29 January 1874	Rachel Grieve	7 Blacket Place		report	daughter of <b>Robert Grieve</b>
26 February 1874	Christine Burn-Murdoch	4 Bruntsfield Terrace	<b>MD surgeon</b>	ditto	daughter of <b>Dr W Burn-Murdoch</b>
	Annie Burn-Murdoch	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Frances Bladworth	17 Meadow Place		ditto	daughter of <b>Richard Bladworth</b>
	Kate Miller	4 Gillespie Crescent <b>James Stacey</b>	<b>Scottish National Insurance</b>	ditto	sister of <b>Mrs Stacey</b>
	Walker Davy	9 Bedford Street		ditto	son of <b>Mrs Davy</b>

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Charles White		<i>student</i>	transfer	from Glasgow Rev Mr Douglas
	Helen Davidson	13 Chester Street <b>William Chambers of Glenormiston</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Catherine Henderson	14 Heriot Place		ditto	
	Catherine Walker	29 India Place		ditto	daughter of Mrs Walker whose death was noted 26 October 1873
	William McLaren	Redfern Villa 36 Greenhill Gardens	<b>John McLaren &amp; Sons</b> wholesale tea dealers 2 Victoria Terrace	ditto	son of <b>David McLaren</b>
20 November 1873	Owen Owens	146 Causewayside <b>Mrs W Meikle</b>	<i>printer</i> <b>grocer</b>	transfer	Rev R W Griffiths Bethel Carnarvon to Wales 25 June 1874
	David Jones	ditto	ditto	ditto	church at [blank] near Carnarvon to Wales 5 November 1874
23 November 1873	Agnes Scott	3 West Maitland Street		ditto	from Woodford Essex
1 March 1874	<b>Robert W Armour</b>	7 St Andrew Place Newington	<b>accountant</b> <b>Savings Bank</b>	ditto	from Dublin Street Baptist Church
	Mrs Armour	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Thomas Clark	at <b>Mrs Aikman's</b> 72 Broughton Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Elgin Place, Glasgow
12 March 1874	Robert Stevenson	12 Montague Street <b>Miss H Stevenson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	James Stevenson	ditto		ditto	



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	William Peterson	9 Bernard Terrace		report	son of <b>Magnus Peterson</b> , deacon
	Helen Wood	1 Lord Russell Place <b>Mrs Wood</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	daughter of the late William Wood
	Alexander Ferguson jr	45 Lauriston Place		ditto	son of <b>Alexander Ferguson</b> <sup>25</sup>
	<b>James Ewart</b>	4 Henderson Row	<b>builder, housecarpenter and joiner</b>	ditto	son of former member John Ewart
	Adam Millar	8 Broughton Place	<b>watchmaker and jeweller 36 Leith Street</b>	ditto	son of <b>Adam Millar</b>
	Robert Millar	ditto		ditto	ditto
15 March 1874	John Hughes	at 1 Hunter Square <b>Thomas Hogg</b>	<b>Temperance Hotel</b>	transfer	from Congregational Church, Penbryn, Wrexham (Rev J J Nathan) to London 3 June 1875
16 April 1874	Eliza Gibson	10 Windmill Street		report	
	Elizabeth Stevenson	Maternity Hospital Chapel Street		ditto	
	John King	14 Castle Street <b>Misses King</b>	<b>lodgings</b>	ditto	to New Zealand 25 June 1874
25 June 1874	Anna Gray	15 Bernard Terrace (Mrs Childers)		report	
	Joanne Duncan	Wardrop Court		ditto	
	Mrs W S Mackenzie	30 Home Street <b>C Peddie</b>	<b>china merchant</b>	ditto	

<sup>25</sup> confectioner to the Queen & HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, 1&2 Melbourne Place, manufactory Brodie's Court 304 Lawnmarket

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
15 July 1874	Frederick Peterson	9 Bernard Terrace		report	son of <b>Magnus Peterson</b> , deacon
	John Shaw McLaren	Redfern Villa		ditto	son of <b>David McLaren</b> , deacon
	Mrs Irvine Hetherington	5 Greyfriars Place		ditto	wife of a member
5 November 1874	Mrs Hammond			ditto	wife of <b>Alexander Hammond</b>
	Eliza Catherine Hamilton			ditto	daughter of the late John Hamilton
	Thomas Alexander			ditto	son of <b>Charles Alexander</b>
	Mrs Pringle			ditto	wife of <b>James Pringle</b>
3 December 1874	Margaret Scott	Williamson's Court 6 Richmond Place		ditto	
	Mrs Mackie	2 Deanbank Terrace		ditto	
	<b>Alexander Porteous</b>	17 Elm Row	<b>manufacturer and layer of asphalt</b> <sup>26</sup>	ditto	
	Samuel Gordon Guild	1 Livingstone Place	<b>draper 10 Bristo Street</b>	ditto	son of <b>Charles Guild</b>
	Stewart Herbert Capper	Beaufort Road Grange	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	son of <b>Jasper J Capper</b>
	Elizabeth Fulton	16 East Norton Place	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	daughter of <b>William B Fulton</b>
	Christian Smith Anderson	21 East Claremont Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	daughter of <b>John Anderson</b>
	Magdalen Mary Anderson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Euphemia Wilson	44 Buccleuch Street <b>Thomas Welsh</b>	<b>baker (house 42)</b>	transfer	from Elie

<sup>26</sup> contractor for Minto's mosaic tile and cement pavement, 38 Haddington Place

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mrs Skae	1 Queensferry Street	no occupation	transfer	from Redcalf wife of <b>William Skae</b>
	Jane Henry	6 Gladstone Terrace <b>Rev Peter Peterson</b>		ditto	from Walls
	Ann Williamson	8 Tantallon Place <b>Thomas Cumming</b>	<b>Thomas Cumming &amp; Son<sup>27</sup></b>	ditto	ditto to New Zealand 15 June 1876
	Mrs Malcolm	7 South Clerk Street		ditto	from Invergordon Free Church (returned member)
	Mrs Edward Baxter	5 Moray Place <b>Lady Baxter of Kilmaron</b>	no occupation	ditto	returned member
7 January 1875	Ellen Stevenson	12 Montague Street		report	sister of <b>James and Robert Stevenson</b>
	Isabella Stevenson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Margaret Ann Campbell	4 St Patrick Square		ditto	
14 March 1875	John Galloway	8 Potterrow		ditto	
	Charles Cathcart	12 Carlton Terrace <b>James Cathcart</b>		ditto	<b>Cathcart, Ferguson &amp; Co wine merchants 90 St Andrew Street Leith</b>
	Eliza Palmer	16 Valleyfield Street		transfer	from Tabernacle Church, Milford Haven, South Wales
1 April 1875	Rae J Macdougall	8 West Newington Place	no occupation	report	son of <b>Mrs A Macdougall</b>
	James Halden	6 Union Street <b>George Halden</b>	accountant	ditto	
	Helen Cassie			transfer	from Aberdeen
	Christina Cassie			ditto	ditto

<sup>27</sup> trunk, portmanteau, brush, basket and packing box makers 2 Cockburn Street

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Alexander Kerr	10 St Patrick Square		transfer	from Forfar
4 April 1875	Elizabeth Hay	2 Oxford Terrace <b>Captain John deC Agnew</b>	<b>R N</b>	ditto	from Belmont Church, Aberdeen
	John Craig	26 Middle Arthur Place		ditto	from Blairgowrie
6 May 1875	Charlotte Letitia Stott	Warriston Crescent		report	daughter of <b>Mrs David Stott</b>
	Ellen Richardson	3 East Newington Place	<b>silversmith 56 South Bridge</b>	ditto	father <b>Mr William Richardson</b>
	John Richardson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Rose Horsburgh Guild	1 Livingston Place <b>Charles Guild</b>	<b>draper 10 Bristo Street</b>	ditto	
3 June 1875	Daniel Alexander			transfer	son of the pastor, by certificate from Rev Samuel Pearson, one of the Congregational churches in Liverpool
	Andrew Aikman			ditto	from Newport (a former member)
	Mrs Aikman			ditto	ditto
	Mitchelline Ferguson	45 Lauriston Place		report	daughter of <b>Alexander Ferguson</b>
22 July 1875	<b>Alexander Batchin</b>	30 Alva Place	<b>stereotyper</b> (produces plates for printing)	ditto	
	Mrs Batchin	ditto		ditto	
	Elizabeth Murdoch	8 St John Street <b>Miss Smith</b>	? student teacher <b>lady superintendent Free Church Normal Boarding School</b>	transfer	from Banff

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Eliza Hutton	Warriston Green		transfer	from Kirkcaldy
	Thomas Wilkie			ditto	from Forfar
	Mrs Wilkie			ditto	ditto
11 November 1875	William Harvey			ditto	from Stirling returned to Stirling 15 June 1876
	<b>Alexander Mackie</b>	30 Victoria Street	<b>plane, saw and edge toolmaker, cutler and ironmonger</b>	ditto	from Cambridgeport Massachusetts Congregational Church
	Annabella Gibson			ditto	from Kirkwall
	Miss J E Ronald	residing at Mr Croal's 16 London Street <b>Thomas Croal</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	returned member	with a letter of recommendation from the London Missionary Society in Madagascar
	Mary Brown	17 Earl Grey Street (Mrs Stewart)		transfer	from Stirling
30 December 1875	William Anderson		<i>student at Theological Hall</i>	ditto	from Rhynie
	Mrs Matthews Gilbert	15 Gladstone Terrace	<b>reporter</b>	report	husband <b>W Matthews Gilbert</b>
	<b>Richard Robertson</b>	35 Lauriston Gardens	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Robertson	ditto		ditto	
2 January 1876	Mr W L Pruen		<i>medical mission student</i>	transfer	from Silver Street Congregational Church [town not mentioned but not in Scotland]
	<b>Robert Allan</b>	at 4 Bernard Terrace	<b>agent Mann, Byers &amp; Co warehouse men 7 Hanover Street</b>	ditto	from Perth

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
13 January 1876	Thomas Anderson	21 East Claremont Street <b>John Anderson</b>	no occupation	report	
	George Turnbull	Pitt Street, Portobello		ditto	
13 February 1876	Janet Sanders	14 Montgomery Street		transfer	from Dunfermline
	William Taylor	2 Melville Terrace <b>David Harrower 1&amp;2</b>	stationery & general warehouse (house 3 Lord Russell Place)	ditto	from Dalkeith
	Mrs Taylor	ditto		ditto	from Pitsligo
23 March 1876	Ann Nisbet	7 Park Street <b>John Nisbet</b>	no occupation	report	
	Thomas Ramsay jr	54 Clerk Street		ditto	
	Mrs Robert Allan	4 Bernard Terrace		ditto	see above
15 June 1876	Cecilia Wicks	18 Castle Street	lodgings	report	<b>Mrs Wicks</b> member
	John Wilkie jr			ditto	father member
	Miss Currie	8 Heriot Place		transfer	previous church not mentioned
	<b>J Moodie Miller</b>	17 Livingston Place	ancient and modern bookseller	ditto	ditto
	George Black	11 Albert Place Leith Walk		ditto	ditto
	Mrs Black	ditto		ditto	ditto
	<b>John Rattray</b>	1 Victoria Place, Trinity	commercial traveller	ditto	ditto
	Mrs Rattray	ditto		ditto	ditto
15 November 1876	Robert Jardine	residing at 35 Lothian Street <b>Miss Mary Alexander</b>	lodgings	ditto	from Eglinton Street, Glasgow

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	John Nobbs	residing at 59 Forrest Road		transfer	certificate from Rev E J Hall, pastor, in name of the British and American Congregation al Church St Petersburg
	Mrs Nobbs	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Elizabeth Irons (now Mrs Adam M Millar)			ditto	returned from Lochgilphead Parish Church “in the absence of our own persuasion in that neighbour hood”
13 December 1876	Miss Leslie Bryce	at 16 Grindlay Street		ditto	from Belmont Street Aberdeen
	Miss Maggie Bryce	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Alexander Kerr	15 West Montgomery Place		ditto	from Millhill, Middlesex (former member)
	Susan Bruce	19 Chambers Street		report	<b>Mrs Bruce</b> member
	Mrs Mackie	30 Victoria Street		ditto	wife of <b>Alexander Mackie</b>
	Ellen Geikie	16 Duncan Street, Newington	<b>Director General HM Geological Survey of Scotland</b>	report	daughter of <b>James Geikie</b>
	Andrew Robertson	residing at 120 Pleasance <b>Andrew Robertson</b>	<i>mason</i>  <b>no occupation</b>	ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Robina Cockburn	5 Canning Place <b>Joseph Thomson</b>	collector for Scottish Legal Life Assurance Society	report	sister of <b>Annie Cockburn</b>
7 February 1877	Mr M Dawson	35 East Claremont Street <b>John B Dawson</b>	stationer	transfer	from Dublin Street Baptist Church
	Mr J Dawson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Griffith Frederick Parsons	3 South Howard Place <b>Mrs Avant</b>	no occupation	ditto	from Wellington, Somersetshire
	Miss Isabella Simpson	5 Buccleuch Place (Mrs <b>Robert Johnstone</b> )	no occupation	ditto	from the United Presbyterian Church, Ronaldsay "no congregational church in that place"
	Elizabeth Barty	12 Albany Street		report	
	Catherine Clark	120 Leith Walk	no occupation	ditto	daughter of <b>Daniel Clark sr</b>
	Mrs Menzies	17 Keir Street <b>W H Menzies</b>	<b>Menzies Bros drapers</b>	ditto	<b>50 Nicolson Street</b>
	Richard Russell	2 Glen Street		ditto	
	Mrs Russell	ditto		ditto	
	Margaret Coutts	at Mr Armour's 39 George Street		ditto	
	John Gilray jr	6 Carlung Place <b>John Gilray</b>	<b>iron agent 26 Forrest Road</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Mary C Ferguson	12 Smiths Place, Leith Walk		ditto	wife of <b>Alexander Ferguson jr</b>
11 April 1877	<b>James Duncan</b>	11 Johnstone Terrace	<b>hairstress 41A South Clerk Street</b>	transfer	from Elgin Place, Glasgow (son of <b>John Duncan</b> )



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	James Kinnear			transfer	from Dalry Congregation al Church (former member)
	<b>Miss Breck</b>	44 Howe Street	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	William Lindsay Alexander Craig-Christie	36 Findhorn Place	<b>outfitters</b> <sup>28</sup>	ditto	son of <b>John Craig-Christie</b> to Dr McLaren's Manchester 10 February 1879 readmitted 5 May 1880 on return
25 April 1877	Annie Anderson	8 St John Street	?student teacher (see previous entry)	transfer	from Aberfeldy
30 May 1877	Amelia Grieve	Salisbury View		report	daughter of <b>Mrs William Grieve</b>
	Mr Reid	16 Murano Place <b>William Bell</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	also from Pilrig Free Church
	Mrs Reid	ditto		ditto	ditto

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<sup>28</sup> Christie & Kilpatrick clothier, hatters, outfitters and robemakers to the University 104 & 105 South Bridge

## Appendix 3b

## CH14/14/2 Church Assembling in Augustine Congregational Church

## Minute Book 14 July 1878 to 6 December 1905

Dates are those of acceptance or as notified at church business meetings. Occupations from minutes are in italics. Heads of household are shown in bold type.

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
14 July 1878	Mrs Robert Bruce	1 Blackwood Crescent <b>Robert Bruce</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Thomas Berry	5 Walker Terrace Dalry <b>John H Jeffrey</b>	<b>cabinet maker</b>	ditto	
9 October 1878	Mrs Leslie	4 Graham Terrace		transfer	from Aberdeen
	Mrs William Brander	4 Hay Street <b>William Brander</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Thomas Cotts	6 East London Street		ditto	
19 February 1879	Mrs J L Hill	1 Summerhall Place <b>Marie Gelletly</b>	<b>ladies' outfitter and baby-linen warehouse 5 St Patrick Square</b>	ditto	
	Mary Addison	5 Hercules Street		ditto	to Brecon 24 November 1886
	Annie Hay	2 Buccleuch Place <b>Alexander Hay</b>	<b>stationer, engraver, printer 4 North Bridge</b>	ditto	
	D Stewart Anderson	3 Tait Place		ditto	21 December 1881 to Elgin Place Church, Glasgow
	Mrs Anderson	ditto		ditto	ditto
30 July 1879	James Durward	17 West Nicolson Street		ditto	to United States 2 February 1881
19 November 1879	Charles Hay	2 Buccleuch Place		report	see above to Weigh House London 11 April 1883 returned 24 February 1886

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	John Smart			re-admittance	from Montrose
	Mrs Smart			ditto	ditto
7 January 1880	W H Davison	Lord Russell Place		transfer	from Rev Dr Pulsford Glasgow
	<b>Alison Thorburn</b>	16 South Clerk Street	<b>milliner</b>	ditto	ditto
	Helen Cowan	1 Clarendon Crescent <b>Mrs Edward Ovens</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Albany Street
	William Young		<i>recently appointed missionary of the church</i>	ditto	from Free Church Paisley Road Glasgow to Barclay Free Church 17 May 1882 (following his resignation as missionary)
11 February 1880	Elizabeth Brown	2 Caledonian Terrace	Brown Bros. art furniture manufacturers	report	house 5 Belford Place
	Janet Laidlaw	2 Randolph Place		transfer	from Barclay Free Church <sup>29</sup> to St Cuthberts 18 November 1882
	<b>Helen Cassie</b>	14 Drumdryan Street	<b>dressmaker</b>	ditto	from Albion Road Congregational Church Tunbridge Wells
17 March 1880	Mrs J S Haig			ditto	from Dublin Street Baptist Church
	W P Harris			ditto	from Kidderminster Church
	James Currie	27 Argyle Place <b>Misses Wares</b>	<b>drapers</b>	ditto	from Panmure Street Dundee to Leith 15 July 1885
	Maggie Murray			ditto	from Kirkcaldy

<sup>29</sup> Rev James Gregory had been inducted to Augustine in January 1880 from Belgrave Chapel Leeds. Miss Laidlaw had become a member of Barclay on transfer from Belgrave Chapel.

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
14 April 1880	Mrs Gregory			transfer	from Belgrave Chapel Leeds wife of pastor
	William Scorgie	34 London Street		ditto	from Aberdeen
	Joseph Burns jr	1 Marchhall Crescent		ditto	from Hope Park Church to Richmond Chapel 2 February 1881
	James Duncan	11 Grange Loan <b>John Mackenzie</b>	<b>gardener</b>	report	
	Annie Dow	34 Buccleuch Place <b>J Allan Dow</b>	<b>hatter 65 North Bridge</b>	ditto	
	Jessie Peterson	Granton Square		ditto	to Granton 1 June 1885
	Margaret B Kirkwood	18 Gladstone Terrace <b>John Kirkwood</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Janet Kirkwood	ditto		ditto	
	<b>John S Gibb</b>	13 Annandale Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Gibb	ditto		ditto	
	Francis L Cownie	12 Rillbank Terrace <b>David Cownie</b>	<b>Wm Cownie &amp; Sons tailors &amp; clothiers 65 South Bridge</b>	ditto	
5 May 1880	Mrs Jackson Graham	2 Clarendon Crescent <b>Professor Kelland</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Dalry Church
	Miss E M Smith	10 Duncan Street		ditto	from Gourock to Established Church Morningside following marriage 24 November 1886
16 June 1880	John Dishart	6 Bread Street <b>David Bain</b>	<b>cabinet maker and upholsterer</b>	ditto	from Hope Park
	Mrs Dishart	ditto		ditto	ditto

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Thomas Ridgely	39 Cowgate <sup>30</sup> <b>John Lowe</b>	<b>FRCS</b>	transfer	from Hope Park
	John Noble	ditto		ditto	from Greenock entered the ministry 7 July 1886 (place not stated)
	Mary S Bruce	34 Bruntsfield Place		ditto	from Craven Chapel London
	Mrs Isobel Dunlop	5 Gloucester Place <b>John Dunlop</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	William Harvey	12 Nelson Street		ditto	
	Mrs W B Robertson	53 George IV Bridge <b>W B Robertson</b>	<b>accountant</b>	ditto	<b>house 296 Leith Walk</b>
	Mrs Moir	Cockburn Street		ditto	
	Miss Fuller Minto	22 Rutland Square <b>John Minto</b>	<b>registrar 6 Hill Square</b>	ditto	
	Charles Mackay	18 Marchmont Crescent <b>Mrs Mackay</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
27 June 1880	James Cowan	28 Croft an Righ	gardener	transfer	from Albany Street
	<b>James Kinnear</b>	3 Waverley Terrace	<b>landscape painter 34 Hanover Street</b>	ditto	from Dalry Church to Dalry 19 November 1884 (also Mrs Kinnear)
	Mr John Lowe	56 George Square <b>Rev J Lowe FRCS</b>	<b>Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society</b>	ditto	from Hope Park (See entry 21 February 1883)
	Frank McKinnon	39 Cowgate		ditto	ditto to Damascus as a medical missionary 18 June 1884
3 October 1880	Mrs Williamson	19 Mayfield Gardens		ditto	from Dublin Street Baptist Church

<sup>30</sup> Livingstone Memorial Medical Missionary Training Institution and Dispensary

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mr Baird			transfer	from Dalry Church
	Mrs Baird			ditto	ditto
	Mrs John Wood			ditto	from Hope Park
27 October 1880	Andrew Henderson	20 East Hermitage Place <b>R Henderson</b>	<b>Henderson &amp; Wilson</b> builders 51 Charlotte Street Leith	report	
16 December 1880	Alexander Wright			transfer	from Leith
	Dr L Thomas	24 Nicolson Street		ditto	from Amloch Congregation al Chapel Anglesea returned 27 April 1881
	Mrs Thomas	ditto		ditto	from Bethesda Chapel Amloch returned 27 April 1881
	Elizabeth Owen	ditto		ditto	from Amloch Congregation al Chapel returned 2 February 1881
	Mr Ghosh Howie			report	from Syria
2 February 1881	<b>John Carrick</b>	2 Bristo Place	<b>fruiterer (1&amp;2)</b>	ditto	
	Margaret Grace Paterson	2 Buccleuch Place <b>Thomas Paterson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
24 March 1881	Ellen Blackworth	5 Meadow Place <b>Mrs Murray</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	William Galashan	8 Albert Street		ditto	
27 April 1881	Alice Barrie	2 Walker Street <b>Andrew Barrie</b>	<b>jeweller, clock and watchmaker</b> 43 Princes Street	ditto	
	George A Barrie	ditto		ditto	
4 May 1881	<b>Jessie King Grieve</b>	12 Glengyle Terrace <b>Misses Grieve and Bruce</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Henri le Beully	11 Forres Street <b>A le Harivel</b>	<b>professor of French</b>	transfer	from Jersey Church to New Zealand 11 April 1883
	Isabella Stevenson	10 Kirn Street		ditto	from Banff
15 May 1881	Margaret Peterson	9 Bernard Terrace <b>Mrs Magnus Peterson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	to Dundee 14 November 1883
	June Sinclair	13 Rillbank Terrace <b>John Sinclair</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	21 December 1881 to China (now Mrs Westwater}
	Bessie Fidler	21 Livingstone Place <b>George Fidler</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	James Edward Fidler	ditto		ditto	
	Quintin Dick Scott <sup>31</sup>	6 South St James Street		ditto	
	Agnes Millidge	9 East Claremont Street <b>Josiah Millidge</b>	<b>J J Millidge and Sons goldsmiths and watchmakers 28 Princes Street</b>	ditto	
	Euphemia Barclay	5 Drummond Street <b>Peter Barclay</b>	<b>jeweller</b>	ditto	
	Christina Pentland	14 Pitt Street		ditto	
	Mr Meek	15 Albert Street		ditto	
	Mrs Meek	ditto		ditto	
8 June 1881	Mr Taylor Richardson	30 Dublin Street <b>Mrs Taylor</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Derby
	Mrs McNaughton			ditto	from Dalkeith
	Mrs J D Scott			ditto	from Albany Street
19 October 1881	<b>Miss Amelia McMillan</b>	Cripples' Home 20 North Mansionhouse Road	<b>matron</b>	ditto	from Rusholm Road, Manchester (Dr Thomson)

<sup>31</sup> Meeting 26 July 1881 The pastor stated that facts had transpired which made it desirable that the name of Quintin D Scott who had been received last meeting should not continue on the Roll and moved accordingly. This was agreed to.

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mr F C Roberts	63 Livingstone Place		transfer	from Aberystwith
	Thomas Hatfield	7 Gladstone Terrace		ditto	from Blackburn returned 18 June 1884
	John Cameron	4 Cheyne Street		ditto	from Falkirk
	Mrs Cameron	ditto		ditto	ditto
	<b>David Walker</b>	14 Claremont Terrace	<b>shorthand writer</b>	ditto	from Trinity Church, Glasgow
	Mrs Walker	ditto		ditto	ditto
	<b>Mr James McCulloch</b>	Augustine	<i>housekeepers of church</i>	ditto	from Evangelical Union Church, Carlisle left 18 June 1884
	Mrs McCulloch	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto ditto
21 December 1881	<b>John Porteous</b>	2 Buccleuch Place	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Albany Street to Elm Row 20 January 1886
	Mrs Porteous	ditto		ditto	ditto ditto
	Mrs Adamson	112 West Bow <b>James Purdie</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Benton Church, Rawdon
	Mrs William Young			ditto	from Newington Free Church wife of church missionary (see above 7 January 1880) to Barclay Free Church 17 May 1882
	Mrs Leithhead	2 Guthrie Street <b>Robert Leithhead</b>	<b>debt collector</b>	report	
5 February 1882	John Myles	13 Panmure Place		transfer	from Belmont Church Aberdeen returned 15 July 1885
	Mrs Myles	ditto		ditto	ditto ditto



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	James Strachan	2 Cobden Terrace Dalry		transfer	from Forfar to Dundee 20 January 1886
	<b>W H Francis</b>	23 Torphichen Street	<b>Peddie &amp; Francis, civil engineers and surveyors 122 George Street</b>	ditto	from Mr Auchterlonie, Dalry
	A P Francis	ditto		ditto	ditto
22 February 1882	Charles Johnstone	4 Melville Terrace		ditto	from Falkirk returned 30 November 1887
	John Goldsworth	20 Roseburn Place <b>George Matheson</b>	<b>Inland Revenue</b>	ditto	from Aberdeen
	Mrs Batchin	30 Alva Place <b>Alexander Jarvis</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Baptist Church Aberdeen
	<b>Daniel Price</b>	30b Dalry Road	<b>bookseller, stationer and librarian</b>	ditto	from Richmond Church Edinburgh
	Mrs Price	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mr F Richardson	Mrs Fairbairn's 13 Warrender Park Terrace		ditto	from Dalry
17 May 1882	Mrs Potter	at <b>Mrs Gibson's</b> 29 Greenhill Gardens	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Clementine Cumming	8 Tantallon Place <b>Thomas Cumming</b>	<b>Thomas Cumming &amp; Son</b>	ditto	<b>trunk, portmanteau, brush, basket and packing box makers 2 Cockburn Street</b>
	Margaret Cumming	ditto		ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Agnes Barrie	2 Walker Street <b>Andrew Barrie</b>	<b>see entry 22 April 1881</b>	report	
25 July 1882	Mr F J Oakley	8 South St David Street	shop assistant Charles Jenner & Co silk mercers and drapers <sup>32</sup>	ditto	to Dr Dale's church at Birmingham 11 April 1888
	Edith Millar	George Square		ditto	
11 October 1882	Grace Peterson	34 East Preston Street <b>Mrs Magnus Peterson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Margaret Riddle Watt	7 Gillespie Crescent <b>William Watt</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
18 November 1882	Frederick Johnston	Mrs Young's 11 Thirlestane Road		transfer	from Collins Church Melbourne
	Helen Fell	9 Abbey Street Abbeyhill		ditto	from Dalkeith
	Janet Saunders	Mrs Murray's 18 Blackwood Crescent <b>Abram G Murray</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Dunfermline
	Edward J Pritchard	39 Cowgate	<i>medical missionary student</i>	report	on the testimony of a letter from Dr Lowe and of the pastor; gone abroad as medical missionary 7 July 1886
	Alexander Henderson	(Lyle) 10 Forres Street	<i>student of Theological Hall</i>		
	William Dawson	6 Montague Street		re-admittance	from Portobello
	Mrs William Dawson	ditto		report	formerly Portobello UP Church
	Rev Mr Joss	5 Silvermills Henderson Row	<i>missionary from Madras</i>		
	Mrs Joss	ditto	<i>ditto</i>		

<sup>32</sup> This was Edinburgh's largest department store, occupying 47,48 &49 Princes Street and 2,4, 6, 8, 10, 12 & 14 South St David Street. Staff lived in dormitories on the premises. The building remains one of the city's architectural landmarks.

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mr J M Hogg	5 Howe Street <b>W T H Hogg</b>	<b>teacher of shorthand</b>	report	from Broughton Place (He had applied for District Missionary post.)
	Mrs Margaret Robertson	5 Sciennes <b>John Wishart</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Robert Paul	Mr Duncan's 11 Johnstone Terrace <b>John Duncan</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
23 January 1883	Charles P Mather	Peacock's 21 Tarvit Street		transfer	from Stratford
	Susan Senior	<b>Mrs MacLeod's</b> 12 Broughton Street	<b>milliner</b>	ditto	from Dundee (Mr Cox)
	<b>James S Mack</b>	12 Carlton Terrace	<b>Mack &amp; Grant SSC</b>	ditto	from Dalry Church
	Mrs J S Mack	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mrs Caverhill	ditto		ditto	ditto (their daughter)
	Charles Moss jr	30 Chalmers Street <b>Mrs Scott</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Littlewick
	T J C Robinson	5 Livingstone Place		ditto	from Airedale College
	Agnes Wicks	18 Castle Street <b>Mrs Wicks</b>	<b>lodgings</b>	report	Mrs Wicks (now Mrs Newlands) to Maupirsie Congregational Church Illinois 8 June 1892
	Jessie Johnstone	24 Buccleuch Place <b>David Johnstone</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
21 February 1883	Rev Charles Moss	30 Chalmers Street		transfer	see above left Edinburgh 14 May 1884
	George A Sutherland	1 Rosehill Place		ditto	from Richmond Congregational Church
	Mrs Sutherland	ditto		ditto	ditto

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	William Cran	61 Clerk Street		transfer	from Belmont Church Aberdeen
	Mr Rutherford			ditto	from Evangelical Union Church Brighton Street
	Miss Rutherford			ditto	ditto
	<b>Rev John Lowe</b>	56 George Square	<b>EMMS</b>	ditto	from Richmond Congregational Church (See entry 27 June 1880)
	Mrs Alexander Campbell	11 Archibald Place <b>J A Campbell</b>	<b>teacher of English</b> <b>130 George Street</b>	ditto	from Glasgow (Mr Goldrick)
	John Campbell	ditto		ditto	ditto
11 April 1883	Charlotte Elizabeth Jack	13 Strathearn Road <b>Thomas C Jack</b>	<b>publisher</b> <b>Grange Publishing Works 123 Causewayside</b>	report	
	Thomas Chater Jack	ditto		ditto	
	Edwin Chisholm Jack	ditto		ditto	to Morningside 4 December 1895
	Florence Bryce Jack	ditto		ditto	
20 October 1883	Mrs Charles Johnstone	10 Livingstone Place		transfer	from Falkirk returned 30 November 1887
14 November 1883	<b>Robert Martin</b>	65 Lauriston Place	<b>flesher</b> <b>8 &amp; 32 High Market</b>	report	
	Mrs Martin	ditto		ditto	
	Ellen Gibson	ditto		ditto	
19 March 1884	Miss Betsy Barty	Viewforth House Lodge		re-admittance	former member returned to town to Brisbane 14 January 1885

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
May 1884	Helen Fidler	Gladstone Terrace		report	to Australia 15 July 1885
	Jane White	1 Blackwood Crescent <b>William White</b>	<b>grocer</b> <b>2 Cannon Street Leith</b>	ditto	
	Mrs James Archibald	1 Yeaman Place <b>Andrew Gibson</b>	<b>baker &amp; confectioner</b>	report	<b>9 Dundee Terrace</b> <b>7 Carnarvon Terrace</b> <b>144 Fountain bridge</b>
18 June 1884	Anne Christie Lowe	56 George Square		ditto	See entry 21 February 1883 Married a doctor (medical missionary) and to India 7 July 1886
	Jessie Campbell Lowe	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Robert Newlands	43 Grove Street <b>John Newlands</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	George Ross	Augustine	<i>church officer</i>	ditto	
	Mrs Ross	ditto	<i>ditto</i>	ditto	
2 July 1884	James H Robertson	5 Richmond Lane		ditto	
19 November 1884	Frank Worthington Simson	5 Montague Terrace		transfer	from Carr's Lane Church Birmingham
	Margaret Howie Cownie	26 Dalrymple Crescent <b>T O Cownie</b>	<b>W C Cownie &amp; Sons</b>	report	see previous entries
	Helen Gibb Cownie	ditto		ditto	
	Margaret Howie Smith	ditto		ditto	
	Mary Simon	5 Mostyn Terrace		ditto	to Morningside 19 June 1889
14 January 1885	Georgina Wright	Lauder Road		transfer	from Richmond Chapel
	Evan Thomas	22 Forrest Road		ditto	from Albany Street

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Athelstane Nobbs	Mrs Hume's 9 Dewar Place <b>James Hume</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from St Petersburg (See entry for John Nobbs 15 November 1876)
	John Shepherd	12 Carnegie Street <b>Mrs Corner</b>	<b>furniture dealer 7 Bristo Street</b>	report	
	Georgina Caroline Bladworth	2 Buccleuch Place <b>Alexander Hay</b>	<b>stationer, engraver, printer 4 North Bridge</b>	ditto	
	Emily J Jones	9 Roseneath Terrace <b>Hugh McDougall</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	James Baird	35 Home Street <b>Matthew Baird</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Andrew L Baird	ditto		ditto	to St Paul's Free Church 15 February 1893
1 April 1885	Janet Mitchell	George IV Bridge		transfer	from Portobello (Mr Dawson)
	Mrs Rankine			ditto	from Aberfeldy
	Margaret M Rankine			ditto	ditto
	Jane Rankine			ditto	ditto
	Mrs Thomas Lyle	50 Grange Road <b>Thomas Lyle</b>	<b>stockbroker 68 Princes Street</b>	report	from Nicolson Square UP Church
	Miss Lyle	ditto		ditto	ditto
	<b>Thomas Robertson</b>	7 Shandwick Place	<b>stationer, pocket-book maker etc</b>	ditto	house 8 Lothian Road
	Jessie Allan	37 Candlemaker Row		ditto	
1 June 1885	Alexander Mitchell	30 George Square <b>John C Steen</b>	teacher ?  <b>headmaster</b>	report	Edinburgh Ladies' Institution 30&37 George Square

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
15 July 1885	<b>Mrs Margaret Henderson</b>	25 North Bruntsfield Place	<b>servants' register</b>		sister of Rev John Lowe and widow of a missionary was received into fellowship
	<b>William Veitch</b>	19 Jordan Lane	<b>W Veitch and Son</b> <sup>33</sup>	transfer	from Dalry Church to Manchester 10 February 1897
	Mrs Veitch	ditto		ditto	ditto ditto
21 October 1885	Mrs Francis	4 Lauriston Gardens		ditto	from Rev Mr Francis Millsend
	Margaret Mackenzie	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Herbert M Inglis	22 East Preston Street	<i>student</i>	ditto	from Christchurch New Zealand
	Mrs Wallace	6 Dalhousie Terrace		ditto	from Belmont Place Aberdeen
	Miss Wallace	ditto		report	
20 January 1886	Mrs Dobbie	9 Gladstone Terrace		ditto	
	Margaret Bartholomew	34 Mayfield Terrace <b>John Bartholomew</b>	<b>geographical engraving &amp; printing establishment 31 Chambers Street</b>	ditto	to Mr Gordon's Glasgow 20 May 1886
	Annie McGregor	ditto		ditto	
	Henrietta McGregor	ditto		ditto	
	David Scott	17 Simon Square		ditto	
	Mrs Scott	ditto		ditto	
	Katie Johnston	6 Brighton Place		ditto	
	Thomas Kerr	2 Lauriston Place	teacher? (Heriot's Hospital School)	ditto	
	Agnes Brown	2 Buccleuch Terrace		ditto	
	Ellen Brown	ditto		ditto	

<sup>33</sup> cabinetmakers, wholesalers, carpet warehousemen, undertakers, appraisers, house agents, brass and iron bedstead and bedding manufacturers 13 Shandwick Place cabinet works Torphichen Street

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	George Francis			transfer	from Glasgow
	William Knowles			ditto	from Perth
	Miss H Sutherland	24 Argyle Place		ditto	from Nairn
	Eliza J Jones	(Craig's) 6 Findhorn Place		report	from Welsh Methodist Church
24 February 1886	<b>James Pearson Callum</b>	6 Lonsdale Terrace	<b>CA 30 Hanover Street</b>	ditto	
	Miss Mary L Callum	ditto		ditto	
	Jeanie Callum	ditto		ditto	
	Thomas Greig	3 Richmond Lane		ditto	
	Mrs Greig	ditto		ditto	
20 May 1886	Helen Davidson	2 Albert Terrace Morningside		re-admittance	on return from Cambridge
7 July 1886	Thomas D Rutherford		<i>missionary of the church</i>	transfer	from Sunderland
24 November 1886	Thomas Jones	9 Gladstone Place <b>Miss Leitch</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Llanelli Wales
	Sydney Tupper	59 Warrender Park Road <b>John Richardson</b>	<b>machinist</b>	ditto	from Bristol
	Mr Jagghinalham	(Mrs Adams) 18 Warrender Park Road			from India
	Elizabeth Forsyth	3b Buccleuch Place <b>Miss Fraser Tytler</b>	<b>St Mary's Orphan Home</b>	report	
	Elizabeth Wallace	6 Woodburn Terrace <b>Mrs Wallace</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Andrew R Stewart	18 North Mansionhouse Road <b>John Stewart</b>	<b>W Purves &amp; Son (J Stewart) 88 George Street<sup>34</sup></b>	ditto	
	<b>Walter Dovey</b>	1 Ivy Terrace	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	

<sup>34</sup> clothiers by special appointment to HRH the Duke of Edinburgh and the Royal Company of Archers, Queen's Bodyguard for Scotland



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Catherine Adamson	24 Clerk Street <b>Walter Adamson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
26 January 1887	Mr E C Thomas	9 Glen Street		transfer	from Wales
	J Howard Jones	42 Marchmont Crescent		ditto	from St Johns Wood, London
	Rev James Hamilton	6 Upper Gray Street		ditto	from Richmond Church Edinburgh
	Mrs Hamilton	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mr D Angel	46 Marchmont Crescent		ditto	from Stirling
	Mrs Bezelly	24 Brougham Street		report	
	James Graham	3 Buccleuch Street <b>Henry Graham</b>	<b>china merchant 4 Cross causeway</b>	ditto	
	Jeanie M A Gilmour	2 Argyle Place		ditto	
	Matthew A B Gilmour	1 Kilgraston Road <b>J M Green</b>	teacher (?) <b>proprietor Southern Academy</b>	ditto	private school
	Matilda Jack	13 Strathearn Road		ditto	
	Lucy Jack	ditto		ditto	
	Jessie M Barrie	2 Walker Street <b>Andrew Barrie</b>	<b>jeweller, clock and watchmaker 4 George Street</b>	ditto	
	John Barrie	ditto		ditto	
6 April 1887	Elizabeth Gibb	16 Scotland Street		ditto	
	Christian Gibb	ditto		ditto	
	Jane Gibb	ditto		ditto	
	Jane Mackie			transfer	from Reawick Shetland
30 November 1887	Jane Jamieson	at Mrs Stewart's 1 Dundas Street		ditto	from Shetland

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	<b>John G Stitt</b>	Blackford Brae Oswald Road	<b>CA</b>	re-admittance	on certificate from the UP Church Dalkeith Road and also recommended by Rev N Wardlaw Thomson Congregation al Church Liverpool
	Mrs Stitt	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Miss F H Stitt			ditto	ditto
	James Aird	66 Bristo Street <b>William Campbell</b>	shop assistant ?  <b>furniture dealer</b>	report	house 5 Crichton Street
15 February 1888	Mr N Rae	9 Summerhill Square <b>Misses Gordon</b>	<i>student</i>  <b>no occupation</b>	transfer	previous church not stated
	<b>Richard S Innes</b>	34 Grange Road	<b>Paterson, Smith &amp; Innes 77 South Bridge<sup>35</sup></b>	ditto	ditto
	Mrs Innes	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mrs John Galloway	25 Montgomery Street		ditto	ditto
	George Twill	14 West Preston Street	<i>student</i>	ditto	ditto
	<b>John Peterson</b>	Granton Square	<b>assistant superintendent mineral wharf Granton</b>	ditto	previous church not noted
	Mrs Peterson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Lizzie Peterson	ditto		report	
	James Peterson	ditto		ditto	
	Mr J S Watton	(Mrs W Bergie) 1 Iona Street Leith Walk		ditto	
23 May 1888	Lavinia Scott			ditto	

<sup>35</sup> carpet warehousemen, cabinet furniture manufacturers, upholsterers, general house furnishers and funeral conductors

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
17 October 1888	<b>Hugh S M Monteagle</b>	43 Polwarth Gardens	<b>BL (lawyer)</b>	transfer	admitted on a letter of commendation from the Rev R Hislop Evangelical Union Church minister Glasgow
	Mr Bauchope			ditto	from the church at Dunedin New Zealand
	Miss Fraser	Royal Infirmary		report	
9 January 1889	Mr J D Jackman	c/o Mrs Miller 32 Castle Street		transfer	previous church not stated
	Mr Larwell	c/o Miss Calder 14 Clerk Street		ditto	ditto
	<b>Mrs Aitkenhead</b>	8 Great Stuart Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	ditto
	the Misses Aitkenhead	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mrs Monteagle	see above		report	
	<b>Dr David William Aitken</b>	3 Argyle Place	<b>MB CM medical practitioner</b>	ditto	
	James Cairnie	24 Dalrymple Crescent <b>Mrs Matthew</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
17 April 1889	Mr R J Christie	c/o Mrs Rose 1 Drummond Street <b>John Rose</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from New Brunswick
19 June 1889	Edward J Walker	10 Broughton Street <b>James Livesay</b>	<b>assistant master BOAF Gardens</b>	ditto	from the church at Ipswich Queensland
11 December 1889	Robert Roberts	7 Sylvan Crescent c/o <b>Mrs Brown</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Bangor College Wales letter of dismissal issued 4 June 1890

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	James McDougal	7 Brighton Street		transfer	from Trinity Congregation al Church Aberdeen
	Mrs McDougal	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mr C W A Jones	c/o Mrs Stewart 28 Marchmont Road <b>Alexander Stewart</b>	no occupation	report	
	Arthur Foster	c/o Mrs Dean 6 East London Street		ditto	
19 February 1890	Jane Watson	at Miss Wyllie's 56 Great King Street <b>Alexander Wyllie</b>	<b>J &amp; A Wyllie 2 Commercial Street Leith<sup>36</sup></b>	transfer	from Innerleithen
	Miss Annie Keay	Moray House Training College	student teacher ?	ditto	from Panmure Congregation al Church Dundee
	Mrs J H Ross	1 Buccleuch Terrace <b>Christopher Nicholson</b>	grocer <b>68 South Clerk Street</b>	ditto	from Congregation al Church at Perth
	Christopher Watson	4 Upper Gilmore Terrace		report	
	Mrs Watson	ditto		ditto	
	Jane Hunter	at <b>Mr Hugh Rose jr</b> Kilravock Lodge Blackford Avenue	<b>Craig &amp; Rose 172 Leith Walk<sup>37</sup></b>	ditto	
	Anne Chisholm	7 Gardners Crescent <b>Robert Chisholm</b>	<b>Davidson &amp; Chisholm builders and joiners</b>	ditto	
26 March 1890	<b>John Stewart</b>	10 Chalmers Crescent	<b>W Purves and Son</b>	ditto	see entry 24 November 1886
	George Hugh Ross	1 Buccleuch Terrace		ditto	see entry 19 February 1890

<sup>36</sup> grain, oilcake and manure merchants (works West Bowling Street)

<sup>37</sup> paint, colour & varnish manufacturers, oil boilers, refiners merchants, drysalters Caledonian Colourworks (also Glasgow and London)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Charles Turphy	15 Chapel Street <b>John B Niven</b>	<b>commercial traveller</b>	report	
4 June 1890	Mr Lynch	13 Royal Crescent <b>Stewart Cessford</b>	<b>writer</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Lynch	ditto		ditto	
	Maggie H Ross	1 Buccleuch Terrace		ditto	see above
8 October 1890	Miss Penniel Falconer			transfer	from Millseat
	Agnes M Allan			report	
	Mary Allan			ditto	
21 October 1891	<b>John Grant</b>	39 George Square	<b>bookseller 25 &amp; 34 George IV Bridge</b>	transfer	from Buccleuch EU Church
	Mrs Grant	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Miss Brennell	at the Café Royal Hotel 17 West Register Street <b>A Mackenzie Ross proprietor</b>		ditto	from the Congregation al Church at Luton
	Thomas Robertson	9 Leven Terrace		report	
	Miss Joanita	c/o Stewart 10 Chalmers Crescent		ditto	
27 January 1892  9 March 1898	Matthias Williams	c/o Mrs Craik 8 Gladstone Terrace c/o Mackay 6 Moncrieff Terrace <b>Daniel Mackay</b>	<b>shoemaker</b>	transfer	from Merthyr Tydfil returned re-admitted to Merthyr Tydfil 5 December 1900
	<b>Rev E A Wareham</b>	3 Windsor Street		ditto	from Portobello
	Mrs Wareham	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Harold Wareham	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mrs Butler	c/o Miss Gill 3 Market Street		ditto	from Helensburgh

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Miss Johnston	27 Rankeillor Street	District Nurses' Home	transfer	from Broughty Ferry to Johannesburg 9 June 1897
	Robert Story			ditto	from Albany Street
	Elizabeth Story			ditto	ditto
	Mary Story			ditto	ditto
	Mrs Sturrock	9 Smiths Place		report	
	Margaret Mein	159 Dalkeith Road <b>Thomas Mein</b>	<b>Addie &amp; Wedderburn 17 Hanover Street<sup>38</sup></b>	ditto	
	Katie Moir	2 Cockburn Street <b>Thomas Cumming &amp; Son</b> (shop)		ditto	see entry 17 May 1882
9 March 1892	Mr A E Davies	c/o Mrs Spence 12 Spittal Street		transfer	from Matlock Derbyshire
	Miss F E Corner	c/o <b>Mr Durrant</b> 4 Castle Street	<b>ladies' tailor</b>	ditto	from Taunton Somersetshire
	<b>John Fraser</b>	8 Thistle Street	<b>bookkeeper</b>	report	
	<b>Abijah Murray</b>	5 Meadow Place	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Murray	ditto		ditto	
	Maria Murray	ditto		ditto	
4 May 1892	Mrs Fraser	8 Thistle Street		ditto	see above
	<b>Mrs Catherine Milne</b>	8 Thirlestane Road	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Arbroath Congregational Church
8 June 1892	Mr Sievwright	c/o Miss Black 5 Valleyfield Street		ditto	from Huntly
	Hilda Jack	7 Crawford Road <b>Mrs Thomas Jack Edwin C Jack</b>	<b>no occupation publishers &amp; wholesale stationers</b>	report	Grange Publishing Works Causewayside

<sup>38</sup> opticians and mathematical instrument makers to the Queen

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
5 October 1892	Mrs Rogers	16 East Adam Street <b>Thomas Jennings</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Dalry
	Catherine A Dow	31 Buccleuch Place		report	
	Mary V Robertson	12 Lonsdale Terrace <b>Mrs Richard Robertson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Miss Annie Small	c/o Mrs Kay 25 South Clerk Street	<i>former missionary in India</i>	with agreement of the fellowship	
7 December 1892	Miss B J Mann	7 Rutland Square <b>Misses Mann</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Birkenhead
	Alfred Fletcher B Sc			ditto	from Adelaide
	George Reynolds Turner	c/o Mrs Lawers Brunswick Street		ditto	from Lewisham
	Adam N Innes	56 Warrender Park Road		report	
15 February 1893	Joshua C Gregory	15 Mayfield Gardens <b>Rev James Gregory</b>	<b>minister Augustine</b>	ditto	to Bradford 10 February 1897
15 March 1893	Mary Rowan	Alva Street		ditto	
	Miss Morris	Claremont 3 South Lauder Road <b>James Anderson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Harry Anderson	ditto		ditto	
	Richard Johnston	55 St Patrick Square		ditto	
	Mrs Johnston	ditto		ditto	
	Mrs W H Menzies	13 Warrender Park Crescent <b>W H Menzies</b>	<b>house agent 4 Brighton Street</b>	report	to Morningside 10 November 1897
12 April 1893	James Cramb	c/o Mrs Harvey 37 George Street	<b>apartments</b>	ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Maggie Gilbert	11 Roxburgh Street <b>Edward Gilbert</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Marion S Gilbert	ditto		ditto	
	Nellie Falconer	8 Cumin Place <b>A R Falconer</b>	<b>British Linen Company Bank</b>	ditto	
	Nettie G Groves	34 Lothian Road		ditto	
	Christina F Howie	13 Cornwall Street <b>William Howie</b>	<b>plumber &amp; gasfitter 27 Grindlay Street</b>	ditto	
	<b>Mr Robert Cunningham</b>	Pentland Grove Roslin	<b>SSC</b>	ditto	
	Miss J Cunningham	ditto		ditto	
5 July 1893	<b>Dr E Sargood Fry</b>	56 George Square	<b>EMMS MB superintendent</b>	admitted as member	
	Mrs Fry	ditto		ditto	
11 October 1893	J Edward Bowie	3 Pitt Street		transfer	from Edgbaston Church Birmingham
6 December 1893	Ellen R Gilray	15 Lonsdale Terrace <b>John Gilray</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
17 January 1894	Maggie Chisholm	7 Gardeners Crescent		ditto	see entry 18 February 1890
	Robert Chisholm	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Pringle	85 Princes Street	<b>New Club</b>	ditto	
	James Mollinson	213a Pleasance		ditto	213 John Forbes chimney sweep
11 April 1894	Helen Johnston	6 Brighton Street		report	
	Ada M Wareham	3 Windsor Street <b>Rev E A Wareham</b>		ditto	see entry 27 January 1892



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	<b>Peter Rennie</b>	Willieston Ratho	<b>gamekeeper</b>	report	
6 June 1894	John Hunter	137 St Leonard Street		transfer	from Dalry
	Mrs Hunter	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mrs Monaghan	12 Buccleuch Street		ditto	from Congregation al Church Kent Road London
	Mrs James Barron	16 Bernard Terrace		ditto	from Ward Chapel Dundee
	Miss Barron	ditto		ditto	from Congregation al Church Newport
	Miss Jessie Barron	ditto		ditto	ditto
	<b>Rev M Hope Davison</b>	30 George Square	<b>secretary Congregation al Theological Hall</b>	ditto	from Portobello Congregation al Church
	Mrs Davison	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Miss Davison	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Madalena L Stewart	10 Chalmers Crescent		report	see entry 26 March 1890
	Mr Breakey	122 Bruntsfield Place	<i>student</i>	ditto	
	Miss J More	59 Fountainhall Road <b>Francis More</b>	<b>CA 24 St Andrew Square</b>	ditto	
24 October 1894	<b>Dr Hodgson</b>	30 George Square	<i>Principal Theological Hall</i>	admitted by agreement	having regard to his well known Christian character
13 March 1895	<b>Rev A R Henderson</b> <sup>39</sup>	5 Mardale Crescent	<i>minister</i>	transfer	from Congregation al Church Montrose
	Mrs Henderson	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Rev R Cuthbert	4a St Vincent Street		ditto	ditto

<sup>39</sup> James Gregory resigned in November 1894 for a charge in Bradford. Mr Henderson was inducted on 7 February 1895.

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mrs Hodgson			transfer	from Christian Road Manchester
	<b>Mr James Auchinachie</b>	6 Glenogle Terrace Stockbridge	<b>janitor Edinburgh Ladies' College 70, 72, 73 Queen Street</b>	ditto	from Dublin Street Baptist Church to Trinity Congregational Church 11 May 1898
	Mrs Auchinachie	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mr Sinclair	45a Montgomery Street		ditto	from Morningside returned 11 May 1898
	Mrs Sinclair	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Miss Common			report	
	May Hay			ditto	
	Nettie Hay			ditto	
	Mr Fagin	18 Lauriston Place		ditto	
	Arthur Robbie			ditto	
3 April 1895	Alexander Clark	4 Shrub Place		transfer	from Montrose
	George Philip	60 Coburg Street Leith		ditto	ditto
	<b>Miss Euphemia Brown</b>	3 Windmill Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Richmond Congregational Church
	George S Scott	18 St Leonard Street		report	to Kirk Memorial Church Abbeyhill 10 November 1897
	Mrs Scott	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mary Bartholomew	12 Blacket Place <b>John George Bartholomew</b>	<b>geographer</b> <sup>40</sup>	ditto	
	Rebecca Stewart	10 Chalmers Crescent		report	see entry 26 March 1890
	Isa Stewart	ditto		ditto	ditto

<sup>40</sup> geographers, engravers, printers, publishers, Edinburgh Geographical Institute, Park Place, Dalkeith Road

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	<b>Mrs Allan Robertson</b>	11 Rillbank Terrace	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Jemima Robertson	ditto		ditto	
15 May 1895	Susan Neil	14 West Preston Street		transfer	from George Square Greenock
	Mrs Barker	14 Canongate		ditto	from Walsall
	George F Storke	56 George Square	EMMS	report	
	Anne Falconer	8 Cumin Place		ditto	see entry 12 April 1893
	Miss Edward	Royal Maternity and Simpson Memorial Hospital Lauriston Place	<b>matron</b>	ditto	
6 June 1895	Isabella Adams	22 Buccleuch Street		transfer	from Dublin Street Baptist Church
	Mr Sandilands	34 Upper Grey Street		ditto	from Richmond Congregational Church
	Miss Lizzie Sandilands	ditto		ditto	ditto
	<b>Mr Peter Thorburn</b>	14 Broughton Street	<b>plumber, brassfounder &amp; gas fitter</b>	ditto	ditto house 54 Rankeillor Street
	Helen Lindsay	10 Melville Street	Edinburgh Institution for Training Sick Nurses (Matron Mrs Bayne)	ditto	ditto
	Hannah Murray	2 Argyle Park Terrace		report	
	Bella Cownie	26 Dalrymple Crescent <b>T O Cownie</b>		ditto	see entry 19 November 1884
	Annie Cownie	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Caughie	18 Lauriston Place <b>John Forgie</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
3 July 1895	Margaret Falconer	65 Leamington Terrace <b>Rev John D Ainslie DD</b>		transfer	from Morningside

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	James Eadie	Brunton Terrace		transfer	
	Mrs Eadie	ditto		ditto	ditto
28 July 1895	Duncan Noble	18 Warrender Park Road		ditto	from Ashford Congregational Church Kent
	Mrs Noble	ditto		ditto	ditto
9 October 1895	Mrs Stevenson	239 Dalkeith Road		report	
	Isabella Robbie	8 London Street <b>Mrs Robbie</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mr E C Marsham	17 Bellevue Crescent		ditto	
	Mrs Marsham	ditto		ditto	
	Mrs Sturrock	12 Willowbrae Road		report	
	Hugh S Winterbottom			transfer	from Bedford Street Congregational Church Stroud
	<b>Joseph Hepworth</b>	4 Priestfield Road	W & B Cowan Ltd Buccleuch Street works <sup>41</sup>	transfer	from Charlotte Street Church Carlisle
	Mrs Hepworth			ditto	ditto
	Miss Kate Hepworth			ditto	ditto to Marsden 10 November 1897 (now Mrs Fisher)
	Mr J J Curnie			ditto	from Portobello
	Mrs Curnie			ditto	ditto
	Ethel Curnie			ditto	ditto
	Mr E U Curnie			ditto	ditto
	Miss Lapton	Royal Infirmary		ditto	from Headingley Hill Congregational Church Leeds
18 October 1895	<b>David Smith</b>	18 Oxford Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Richmond Congregational Church
	Mrs Smith	ditto		ditto	ditto

<sup>41</sup> wet and dry gas meter manufacturers, brassfounders, etc. (also Westminster and Manchester)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
4 December 1895	Lizzie Robb	2 Buccleuch Street		report	
	Janet Gladstone	3 Hope Park Terrace		ditto	
	Mr Kinnaird Rose	1 Drummond Place		ditto	
	<b>Mr J Campbell Irons</b>	10 Royal Terrace	<b>SSC 22 York Place &amp; 20 Baltic Street</b>	re-admittance	former member to Dublin Street Baptist Church 5 December 1900
	Mrs Irons	ditto		ditto	ditto ditto
	Helen Wood			ditto	ditto
8 January 1896	<b>William Geddes</b>	25 Rankeillor Street	<b>hairdresser 19 Tarvit Place</b>	report	
	Mrs Geddes	ditto		ditto	
	<b>Mrs F A Dunlop</b>	35 Buccleuch Place	<b>ladies' nurse</b>	transfer	from Buccleuch E U Church
	Robert Dunlop	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mary Dunlop	ditto		ditto	ditto
	<b>Mr Andrew D Stewart</b>	16 Mansionhouse Road	<b>Stewart &amp; Smith tailors and clothiers 12 Frederick Street</b>	ditto	ditto
	Mrs Stewart	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Annie Stewart	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mrs Wright	Sciennes Grove <b>Thomas Wright</b>	<b>grazier</b>	ditto	from Duncan Street Baptist Church
	Miss M Thorburn			transfer	from Queen Street Congregation al Church Hitchin
	Mr W Wilson McBean	4 Comely Bank Place		ditto	from Morningside
5 February 1896	Ruth Cownie	26 Dalrymple Crescent <b>T O Cownie</b>		report	see earlier entries
	Grace Thomson	Old Waverley Hotel 43 Princes Street		ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	<b>James Thorburn</b>	21 Melville Terrace	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Richmond Congregational Church
	Annie Ballingal	3 Hope Park Crescent <b>George Ballingal</b>	<b>clerk of works</b>	ditto	from Buccleuch Street E U Church
4 March 1896	<b>Robert L Lewis</b>	14 Livingstone Place	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Mrs Lewis	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Hartley	Old Waverley Hotel 43 Princes Street		ditto	
	Jemima Sinclair	3 Atholl Place	Wright & Cowan milliners	report	
	Christina Dick	8 St Peters Place Viewforth		transfer	from Albany Street
8 April 1896	Walter Ainslie	26 Lauder Road		ditto	from Buccleuch Street E U Church
	<b>Charles Ainslie</b>	ditto	<b>Alex Cruickshank &amp; Sons<sup>42</sup></b>	ditto	ditto
	<b>John Ainslie</b>	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Miss Ainslie	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mrs McIntyre	12 Bruntsfield Gardens <b>David McIntyre</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Macfadyen Memorial Congregational Church Manchester
	George Wares			ditto	from Wick
3 June 1896	Mrs Lowson	36 Mansionhouse Road <b>W B Lowson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Morningside
	Edgar Jones	c/o Graham 17 Circus Place		ditto	from Llanelli
	<b>William Rutherford</b>	9 Brunton Terrace	<b>no occupation</b>	report	to UP Church Fountain bridge 9 May 1900
	Mrs Rutherford	ditto		ditto	ditto

<sup>42</sup> hosiers, shirt-makers, clothiers, hatters, ladies' gentlemen's and children's outfitters, baby linen warehouse 57 and 61 George Street

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
8 July 1896	<b>Robert Anderson</b>	50 South Bridge	<b>Robert Anderson &amp; Son</b>	report	
	<b>Adam Somerville</b>	8 Buccleuch Place	<b>plumber &amp; gas fitter 31 Buccleuch Street</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Somerville	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Seal	Jenners Princes Street	shop assistant	transfer	from Edmonton Congregational Church London returned 9 June 1897
	<b>George D Hindmarsh</b>	23 Maitland Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Buccleuch Street EU Church
	Mrs Hindmarsh	ditto		ditto	ditto
	<b>Alexander Fisher</b>	20 Fountainhall Road	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from EU Church Hawick
	Mrs Fisher	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Miss Fisher	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Archibald Fisher	ditto		ditto	from Buccleuch Street EU Church
4 November 1896	Jessie Wood	Linkview House 46 Bruntsfield Place <b>George M Wood</b>	<b>Solicitor to the Supreme Court and Notary Public 8 Bank Street</b>	report	
	Mary Findlay	3 Mardale Crescent <b>Rev A R Henderson</b>	<b>minister Augustine</b>	ditto	
	Phoebe Mapletoft	50 Craigmillar Park <b>Rev Principal Hodgson</b>	<b>Congregational Theological Hall</b>	ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mairi Irons	10 Royal Terrace See entry 4 December 1895		report	to Dublin Street Baptist Church 5 December 1900
	<b>Miss Mary McQueen</b>	45 South Clerk Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Grant	c/o Banks 5 Summerhall Square		transfer	from Wick
6 January 1897	Lizzie Cooper	19 Bristo Place <b>Alexander Cooper</b>	<b>saddler 60 Grassmarket</b>	report	
	Grace Lamb	City Hospital Infirmary Street	<i>nurse</i>	ditto	
	Mary A Cruickshank	15 Lonsdale Terrace		transfer	from Whitehaven to London 12 October 1898
	Mr M C Bontal	Mission House 56 George Square	EMMS	ditto	from Southsea
10 February 1897	Mrs Falconer	City Hospital		report	
	Annie Thompson	ditto		ditto	
	Mrs Charles Macdonald	19 Great King Street		transfer	from Thurso
	Maggie R Watt	Royal Infirmary		ditto	from Morningside to Southampton 11 May 1898
12 May 1897	Mary Galloway	35 South Bridge		report	
	<b>Mrs Crawford</b>	12 Grindlay Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Nettie Anderson	53 Mayfield Road <b>David Anderson</b>	<b>fish salesman etc<sup>43</sup></b>	ditto	
	James Carr	50 Princes Street	shop assistant Colin Sinclair fancy stationer	transfer	from Falcon Square Chapel London
9 June 1897	David Mitchell	62 Montgomery Street		report	

<sup>43</sup> fish salesman, horticultural rustic work maker, fish and rustic work emporium, 120 Bruntsfield Place and the rustic box 24 Riego Street



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mr M C Johnston	16 Kilmaurs Road <b>William Hunter CS MA</b>	<b>headmaster Castlehill Public School</b>	report	
	Mrs Johnston	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Christian Ross	City Hospital		ditto	
	Nellie Moir	16 Dublin Street	Edinburgh Nurses Cooperative Association	transfer	from Morningside
30 June 1897	Mrs Stoddart	25 Warrender Park Road		report	
13 October 1897	Mrs Reid	139 Dalkeith Road		transfer	from Portobello
	Miss A A Reid	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Margaret Reid	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Mary Reid	ditto		ditto	ditto
10 November 1897	Miss K C Davies	135 Warrender Park Road <b>Mrs Anderson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Menai Bridge North Wales
	Miss Ethel Whalley	c/o <b>Mrs R E Croal</b> 2 East Newington Place	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Darwen
	Mrs Eddington	65 Nicolson Street		ditto	from Avoch
	<b>Mr Andrew Eddington</b>	ditto	<b>typefounder</b>	report	
8 December 1897	Margaret Carstairs	15 Roseneath Terrace <b>William Gardner</b>	<b>sheriff-clerk</b>	ditto	
	Mr J M Dewar	30 George Square	<i>Theological Hall</i>	transfer	from St Andrews
12 January 1898	Mrs Young <b>David E Young</b>	23 Mansionhouse Road	<b>H D Young &amp; Sons leather merchants and boot factors</b>	report	<b>60, 62 and 88 High Street</b>
	William Kennedy	c/o <b>J Lowe</b> 10 Marchmont Crescent	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
9 February 1898	Frank Pearson	23 Brunswick Street		report	
	Minnie Hodgson	50 Craigmillar Park <b>Dr Hodgson</b>		ditto	see entry 4 November 1896
	Miss Louisa Alice Conder	48 Princes Street	Jenners	transfer	from Kensington Church London
9 March 1898	Robert Dick	4 Lauriston Place <b>James Dick</b>	<b>grocer and wine merchant</b>	report	<b>66 Grassmarket</b>
	Isabella Smith	5 Gilmore Place <b>J H Hutton</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Neil	22 Oxford Street		ditto	
11 May 1898	Helen Rhind	3 Buccleuch Terrace <b>Thomas Rhind</b>	<b>lithographer etc<sup>44</sup></b>	ditto	
	Jane McCartney	34 Buccleuch Place <b>Hugh McCartney</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Nellie Boyle	(Innes) 13 St James Square		ditto	
	W N Blackworth	(Thorburn) 55 South Clerk Street <b>Miss I Thorburn</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mr Bickerstaff			transfer	from Hexham Road Congregation al Church Gateshead
	Mrs Bickerstaff			ditto	ditto
	Samuel Woodman	48 Princes Street	Jenners	ditto	from Mount Pleasant Congregation al Church Tunbridge Wells to Reading 6 December 1899

<sup>44</sup> lithographer, map-mounter, stationer etc 178 Pleasance and 41 Chambers Street

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Miss M L Cordiner	25 Melville Street <b>C R A Howden</b>	<b>advocate</b>	transfer	from Allison Congregation al Church Aberdeen
6 July 1898	Jessie Donald	16 Claremont Crescent <b>Mrs Scot</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Miss Annie Storie	35 Buccleuch Place <b>Mrs Ann Storie</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Robert Butters	c/o Hall 16 Lauriston Place		ditto	
	<b>James Archibald</b>	Hessla Croft 21 Craigmillar Park	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Hull
	Mrs Archibald	ditto		ditto	ditto
12 October 1898	William Henderson	c/o Bone 1 Valleyfield Street		report	
	Helen Scott Thyne	67 Morningside Road <b>Mrs Thyne</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Alice Mary Thyne	ditto		ditto	
	Margaret C Baxter	204 Dalkeith Road		ditto	
	Henry Hogg	37 St Leonards Street		ditto	
	Mrs Hogg	ditto		ditto	
	Mrs Archibald Fisher	68 Blackford Avenue		ditto	
	Mrs Rollo Stewart	38 Dublin Street <b>Rollo Stewart</b>	<b>J S Stewart &amp; Son</b>	ditto	see entry 7 July 1886
	M F Elsy	48 Princes Street	Jenners	ditto	
	Archibald Buchanan	ditto	ditto	ditto	
	Winifred Nicholson	153 Dalkeith Road		ditto	
	<b>Rev Dr William Nicholson</b>	ditto	<b>retired agent British and Foreign Bible Society</b>	transfer	from Congregation al Church St Petersburg

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mary Roxburgh	c/o <b>Miss R Adams</b> 34 Clerk Street	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Buccleuch Street Church
9 November 1898	Georgina Dawson	35 East Claremont Street <b>John B Dawson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	James Ferry	92 Bruntsfield Place		ditto	
	Kenneth Inglis	c/o <b>Miss Lyle</b> 14 Thirlestane Road	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Trinity Congregation al Church Christchurch
	Mrs Jamieson	25 Waterloo Place	Edinburgh and Leith Corporations Gas Commissioners	ditto	from Albany Street
7 December 1898	<b>Frank J Common</b>	15 Spottiswoode Street	<b>commercial traveller</b>	report	
	Mrs Common	ditto		ditto	
	Mrs Terry	92 Bruntsfield Place		transfer	from Congregation al Church Bathgate
	H L Munro	11 Dalziel Place		ditto	from London Road Congregation al Church
8 February 1899	Robert Allan	72 Grove Street	Home Premises Edinburgh Industrial Brigade William Rattray superintendent	report	
	Herbert S Dotchin	c/o Johnston 7 Viewforth Square		ditto	
	Joseph D Burns	Hillside West Saville Road <b>James Burns</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	George McIntosh	4 North St David Street		transfer	from Trinity Congregation al Church
	Mrs McIntosh	ditto		ditto	ditto

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
29 March 1899	Mrs Ainslie	27 Hermitage Gardens <b>Charles Ainslie</b>		report	see entry 8 April 1896
	Eliza S Ewart	1 Dundas Street		ditto	
	John Ewart	ditto		ditto	
	George Wight	c/o <b>R W Bell</b> 8 Annandale Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	<b>A F Bainbridge</b>	Brunstane Arboretum Road	<b>Morrison &amp; Gibb Ltd<sup>45</sup></b>	transfer	from Trinity Congregation al Church
	Mrs Bainbridge	ditto		ditto	ditto
10 May 1899	Henry G Smith	18 Oxford Street <b>David Smith</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Maggie Brown	7 Ritchie Place		ditto	
	Frank Turnbull	95 Slateford Road	S Henderson & Son baker <sup>46</sup>	ditto	
	Mrs F Turnbull	ditto		transfer	from Ward Chapel Dundee
	John Drummond	c/o Mission 9 Glen Street	P Smith MA university and army tutor	ditto	from Oban
	Mrs Charles Childs	38 Cumberland Street <b>Charles Childs</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Trinity Congregation al Church Edinburgh
	Elizabeth Childs	ditto		ditto	ditto
	John Childs	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Amelia Childs	ditto		ditto	ditto
7 June 1899	George Bain	23 Mayfield		report	
	William Batchin	15 East London Street <b>George Batchin</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Jessie Batchin	ditto		transfer	from Trinity Congregation al Church

<sup>45</sup> printers, engravers, lithographers, stereotypers, electro-typers, book binders, account book makers, and paper rulers Tanfield Works and 11 Queen Street

<sup>46</sup> also at 166 and 168 Fountainbridge, 141 Gilmore Place, 1 and 3 Bryson Road and Parsonsgreen Terrace (house 29 Merchiston Park)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Mary Brechin	c/o <b>Mrs James Wardlaw</b> 27 Glencairn Crescent	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Lindsay Street Church Dundee
	Robert E Mitchell	55 Warrender Park <b>R F Mitchell</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Trinity Congregation al Church
	Mrs David Craig	14 Home Street <b>David Craig</b>	<b>baker</b> <b>76 Thistle Street &amp; 60 Castle Street</b>	ditto	ditto
	Edith Craig	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Arthur Craig	ditto		ditto	ditto
11 October 1899	<b>Adam Smail</b>	13 Cornwall Street	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	John L Blyth	10 Brandon Terrace	John Laing grocer and provision merchant <sup>47</sup>	report	
	Edwin Field			transfer	from Congregation al Church Demerara
15 November 1899	<b>John McEwan Watt</b>	8 Burgess Terrace	<b>A Watt &amp; Sons harness makers</b> <b>1 and 19* St David Street</b> <b>*workshop</b>	report	
	Mr E Fulton	17 Bellevue Crescent		ditto	
	Mrs Fulton	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Auld	The Willows Relugas Road <b>W Wallace Auld</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Miss Maggie Auld	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Nettie Auld	ditto		ditto	
	Miss Katie Auld	ditto		ditto	

<sup>47</sup> also at 57 Clerk Street and 174 Dalkeith Road (house 8 McLaren Road)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Dr M J Hardie			transfer	from Charles Street Congregation al Church Cardiff
	Miss Katie Hardie			ditto	ditto
6 December 1899	William Grieve Ewart	14 Royal Circus	<b>James Ewart &amp; Son builders</b>	report	
	Gertrude Grimwood	6 St Andrew Square <b>W A Grimwood</b>	caretaker Scottish Provident Institution	ditto	
	May J Moir	24 Barony Street		transfer	from Newport returned 6 February 1901
	Christina Mowat	15 Belgrave Place <b>David Halley</b>	no occupation	ditto	from Paisley
	Mrs Hutton	16 Dean Park Street		ditto	from Congregation al Church Kyneha Australia
	Charles McCann	Liberton Brae		ditto	from First Congregation al Church Chicago
	Samuel B Fraser	20 Heriot Place <b>William Bone</b>	no occupation	ditto	from Union Chapel Islington
17 January 1900	Kate McPherson	54 Blacket Place <b>Miss Makgill</b>	no occupation	ditto	from Dunfermline
	Mrs Turner	3 Bernard Terrace		ditto	from Dalkeith
	Mrs Tulloch	69 Queen Street	Royal Scottish Nursing Institution <b>Miss King matron</b>	ditto	from Parkhead Congregation al Church Glasgow
	Mrs Butters	29 Halmyre Street Leith		report	
	Archibald James Bain	72 Blackford Avenue <b>Mrs Matthew Snodgrass</b>	no occupation	ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
14 February 1900	Robert N Tulloch	28 Thirlestane Road <b>Mrs Anderson</b>	no occupation	report	
	Mrs Tulloch	ditto		ditto	
	Margaret Sutherland	c/o McAdam 4 Marchmont Road		ditto	
	James Gilbert	11 Roxburgh Street <b>Edward Gilbert</b>	no occupation	ditto	
	Margaret Foley	Poplar Bank Duddingston <b>Robert Hoggan</b>	wine & spirit merchant Sheep's Heid Inn	ditto	
9 May 1900	Miss Maud Tipper	Royal Infirmary		transfer	from Kendal
	June Hardie	c/o <b>Alexander Easson</b> 48 Craiglea Drive	SSC	ditto	from Leith
3 October 1900	Henry Bolton	57 George Square	EMMS (E Sargood Fry MB)	report	
	David Latto	c/o <b>William Robert Henderson</b> 35 Montgomery Street	coachbuilder	ditto	
	Maggie Clark	c/o <b>Mrs Halliday</b> 63 South Clerk Street	no occupation	ditto	
	Alexander Campbell	17 Royal Park Terrace		transfer	from Inch
	Mrs Campbell	ditto		ditto	ditto
	David Reid			ditto	from Belmont Aberdeen
	Mrs Reid			ditto	ditto
	Mrs Campbell	21 Lauriston Gardens <b>John K Mackenzie</b>	teacher of violin	transfer	from Trinity Congregation al Church Aberdeen
	Eliza Campbell	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Maggie Campbell	ditto		ditto	ditto



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
14 November 1900	Mr Johnston	38 Marchmont Crescent		report	
	Mrs Johnston	ditto		ditto	
	Jeannie B Thompson	c/o Misses Laing 62 Queen Street	teachers of music, vocal and piano	ditto	
	William Wellwood	11 West Richmond Street James Harkess	funeral undertaker	ditto	
	Annie J Logan	18 St Johns Hill	Rescue and Probationary Home for Fallen Women Day Industrial School Louisa Clark superintendent	transfer	from Dumfries
	Jessie Burns	Hillside West Saville Road James Burns	no occupation	ditto	from Richmond Congregational Church Edinburgh
	Mrs S B Fraser	239 Dalry Road		ditto	from Dalry
	William Leslie	c/o Coghill 58 St Leonards Hill		ditto	from Arbroath
5 December 1900	Walter Cownie	26 Dalrymple Crescent T O Cownie		report	see entry 6 June 1895
	Mary Cownie	ditto		ditto	
	Janet McLaren Johnston	38 Marchmont Crescent		ditto	
	Daniel McIntyre	12 Spittal Street	glazier and glass merchant	ditto	
	Mrs McIntyre	ditto		ditto	
	Agnes McIntyre	ditto		ditto	
6 February 1901	Ethel Hepworth	4 Priestfield Road Joseph Hepworth		ditto	see entry 9 October 1895
	Gertrude Hepworth	ditto		ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Jessie Robertson	11 Rillbank Terrace <b>Mrs Allan Robertson</b>	no occupation	report	
	Margaret Fairley	c/o Mrs Halliday 63 South Clerk Street		transfer	from Duncan Street Baptist Church see entry 3 October 1900
	Miss A Thomson	City Hospital		ditto	from St James Congregation al Church Newcastle-on-Tyne
10 April 1901	Mrs Francis	2 London Street <b>A Penry Francis</b>	no occupation	report	
	Ella Grimwood	6 St Andrews Square		ditto	see entry 6 December 1899
	May Price	7 Polwarth Gardens		ditto	
	William L Baird	17 Perth Street <b>Matthew Baird</b>	no occupation	ditto	
	Miss Mary Ogilvie	71 Macdonald Road <b>Mrs Ogilvie</b>	no occupation	ditto	
	<b>Thomas Kerr</b>	3 Dalkeith Road	<b>Myers &amp; Kerr</b> wholesale bakers and girdle scone manufacturers	ditto	<b>15 St James Square</b>
	Mrs Kerr	ditto		ditto	
5 June 1901	William Doig	c/o Bunyan 8 Canon Street		ditto	
	Jane Marr	15 Inverleith Row <b>Miss Eve Blantyre Simpson</b>	no occupation	ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Jane Peter	14 Blacket Place <b>William Anderson</b>	<b>Treasurer Edinburgh and District Water Trust City Chambers</b>	report	
	Elizabeth Monaghan	16 Brunswick Road <b>James Dagleish</b>	<b>coal merchant</b>	ditto	
	Martha Galloway	35 South Bridge		transfer	from Brightside Congregation al Church Sheffield
24 July 1901	Catherine Hay	13 Randolph Crescent <b>Misses Stevenson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Margaret Cattanach	18 Bruntfield Avenue <b>Miss S Cattanach</b>	<b>dressmaker</b>	ditto	
	Katie Caird	50 Princes Street	<b>Colin Sinclair stationer</b>	transfer	from Paddington Congregation al Church London
	Robert Heggie	1 South St James Street <b>H Heggie</b>	<b>provision merchant</b>	ditto	from Musselburgh
	Jane Stewart	Bulowsminde 40 Wilton Road <b>John Gordon Douglas</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Montrose
	Susan Stewart	5 Learmonth Gardens <b>Mrs Susan Bonner</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	ditto
	Christina Stewart	12 Mansionhouse Road <b>Rev A R Henderson</b>	<b>minister Augustine</b>	ditto	ditto
	<b>Robert Sharp</b>	14 George IV Bridge	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Dean Free Church
	Mrs Robert Sharp	ditto		ditto	ditto

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
30 October 1901	Ethel Wood	Linkview House Bruntsfield		report	see entry 4 November 1896
	Charlotte G Noble	26 Dundas Street		ditto	
	<b>Mrs Macdonald</b>	115 George Street	<b>milliner</b>	ditto	
	<b>Mrs John MacRitchie</b>	25 East Claremont Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Sophia MacRitchie	ditto		ditto	
	<b>Adam Forbes</b>	40 West Preston Street	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Forbes	ditto		ditto	
	John Sharp	14 George IV Bridge		ditto	see above p.179
	Mr McArthur	177 Pleasance		transfer	from Sydney Hull Church
	Mrs McArthur	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Isabella McArthur	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Janet McArthur	ditto		ditto	ditto
	James McArthur	ditto		ditto	ditto
	David Smith jr	38 Warrender Park Terrace		ditto	from Panmure Street Church Dundee
	Mrs Smith	ditto		ditto	ditto
	Arnold Davies	c/o <b>Mrs C Manson</b> 43 Marchmont Crescent	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	from Menai Bridge Wales
5 December 1901	Mary Duncan	22 Melville Terrace <b>John Duncan</b>	<b>reporter William Macdonald &amp; Co</b>	report	<b>Courant Printing Works 12 St Giles Street</b>
	Joanna Duncan	ditto		ditto	
	Mr Laing	7 Tay Street		ditto	
	<b>Dr A C Ainslie</b>	20 Newington Road	<b>MA MB CM</b>	ditto	
	Mrs Ainslie	ditto		ditto	
	Helen Batchin	6 Claremont Street		ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Isabella Lewis	14 Livingstone Place <b>Robert L Lewis</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
	Catherine McIntyre	12 Spittal Street		ditto	see entry 5 December 1900
	Rev J J Jones	6 Craighouse Road		transfer	from Victoria Road Congregational Church Northampton
	Mrs Jones	ditto		ditto	ditto
5 February 1902	Mrs Woodward	c/o <b>James Smith</b> 35 Marchmont Crescent	<b>no occupation</b>	transfer	from Portobello
	Mrs Erskine	81 Comely Bank Avenue <b>Robert Erskine jr</b>	<b>manager Scottish Midland Plate Glass Insurance Co Ltd 30 St Andrews Square</b>	ditto	from Perth
	John Strachan	32 Polwarth Crescent		ditto	from Fraserburgh
	Ernest L Smith	14 Parkside Terrace <b>David Smith</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	report	
5 March 1902	<b>Mrs John Comrie</b>	16 Warrender Park Crescent	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	James Hay	2 Buccleuch Place <b>Alexander Hay</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Jessie Dawson	13 Spottiswoode Street <b>William Dawson</b>	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Method of Admittance	Notes
	Bessie Newlands	7 Warrender Park Crescent <b>John Newlands</b>	<b>controller Telephone Department</b>	report	
	Arthur Newlands	ditto		ditto	
	William Jeffrey	c/o <b>Peter Veitch</b> 28 Melville Terrace	<b>no occupation</b>	ditto	
	Ethel Nazer	Royal Infirmary		transfer	from Reigate

## Appendix 4

## CH14/5/4 Brighton Street Evangelical Union Congregational Church

## Annual Report and Directory 1884-1889 Roll of Members

(Every 10<sup>th</sup> member plus members of the same family and others at the same address; heads of household who are members in bold type)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
March 16 1884	<b>Frank Airey</b>	5 Sciennes			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	Mrs M Armstrong	North Richmond Street			
	Agnes Blair	59 George Square	servant	William Miller	SSC
	John Burnet	19 Henderson Row		Mrs J.James Sharp	no occupation
	Thomas Chapman	Mid Calder	shoemaker		
	Agnes Cresswell	6 Richmond Place	servant	J S Paterson	pawnbroker (shop No.2)
	<b>John Douglas</b>	66 Haymarket Terrace	stationer		J & S Douglas
	<b>Mrs Falconer</b>	8 Causewayside	no occupation		
	Janet Falconer	ditto			
	James Falconer	ditto			
	Christina Gillespie	13 West Nicolson Street			
	Margaret Gillespie	ditto			
	<b>David Hay</b>	53 Canongate		John Blair <sup>48</sup>	typefounder
	Mrs Hay	ditto			
	William Hay	ditto			
	Andrew F Hay	ditto			
	Maggie Hay	ditto			
	Marion Inglis	9 Abbey Strand			
	Mary Johnstone	Craigmillar Blind Asylum	servant	H. Lawson headmaster Miss Skirving lady superintendent	
	Mrs M Lennie	27 North Richmond Street			
	Cecilia Lennie	ditto			
	Annie Lennie	ditto			

<sup>48</sup> Mr Blair was the only one named at this address.

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	Robert Monteith	7 Drumdryan Street			
	Mrs Monteith	ditto			
	Janet Macbeth	17 Lennox Street	servant	Lewis Bilton W S	office 21 Hill Street
	<b>Alexander D Mackenzie</b>	2 Grove Terrace	no occupation		
	Mrs Mackenzie	ditto			
	John Payne	64 Bristo Street		Thomas Clark	no occupation
	Isabella Sellar	16 Randolph Crescent		Miss Borrie	apartments
	<b>Mrs Stewart</b>	55 South Clerk Street	no occupation		
	William Stewart	ditto			
	James Stewart	ditto			
	<b>John Sutherland</b>	162 Pleasance			
	Mrs Sutherland	ditto			
	Sarah Tulloch	8 St Patrick Street			
	Mrs Watson	8 Hamilton Place			
	Mary Jane Watson	ditto			
	Mrs Young	28 Lady Menzies Place		William Annan	no occupation
March 1886	<b>Francis Airey</b>	50 Sciennes			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	<b>Mrs Ballantyne</b>	66 Grove Street			
	Maggie Ballantyne	ditto			
	James Brown	57 Grove Street			
	Mrs Campbell	5 Moncrieff Terrace		Mrs Lawrie	no occupation
	<b>James Craig</b>	15 South College Street	no occupation		
	Mrs Craig	ditto			
	Euphemia Craig	ditto			
	Cecilia Craig	ditto			
	Margaret W Craig	ditto			
	Christian R Craig	ditto			
	Elizabeth R Craig	ditto			
	Mrs Dickson	3 Bristo Place		John Dickson	no occupation
	Lizzie Evers	19 Queen Street			



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	Maggie Fraser	11 Palmerston Place	servant	David Simson	Bengal Civil Service (member of Free St George's)
	<b>Andrew Hamilton</b>	109 Warrender Park Road	no occupation		
	Mrs Hamilton	ditto			
	<b>Peter Hay</b>	37 Queensferry Street	tobacconist		shop no.36
	Penelope G Hay	ditto			
	<b>George Innes</b>	39 Buccleuch Street			
	Mrs Innes	ditto			
	Margaret Kinninmont	1 Bank Lane Clyde Street			
	Mrs M McBeath	8 Livingstone Place			
	Elizabeth McBeath	ditto			
	Mrs Helen McIntosh	4 Infirmary Street			
	Hugh Mason	8 St Leonards Hill			
	<b>Mrs J Morgan</b>	16 Drumdryan Street	no occupation		
	John Payne	1 West Richmond Street			
	<b>Andrew Ritchie</b>	44 Minto Street	confectioner		business 11 & 13 Cockburn Street
	Mrs Ritchie	ditto			
	Andrew Ritchie jr	ditto			
	Marion Ritchie	ditto			
	Jessie Ritchie	ditto			
	Jessie Shiells	13 Graham Street			Speedwell Boarding House for Young Women
	Mrs Stark	20 Buccleuch Street	servant	William Hill (house no.18)	refreshment rooms
	<b>Thomas Tait</b>	15 Dublin Street	smith/ironmonger		business 8 North St Andrew Street and Clyde Street Lane
	Mrs Tait	ditto			
	Isabella Tait	ditto			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Samuel Walker</b>	16 Gillespie Crescent	teacher		MA BSc
	Mrs Walker	ditto			
	Alfred Whittaker	Blackhall	butler		
	Emma S Young	7 Annandale Street		Robert Young jr	wool merchant and commission agent
March 1887	<b>Francis Airey</b>	50 Sciennes			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	Elizabeth Bain	Lasswade			
	<b>Alexander Calder</b>	10 Livingstone Place			
	Mrs Calder	ditto			
	James Calder	ditto			
	Mrs Cook	1 East Adam Street			
	Mary Cook	ditto			
	Jessie Cook	ditto			
	Susan Cook	ditto			
	Helen Docherty	13 Graham Street			Speedwell Boarding House
	<b>D M Dunlop</b>	Rowallan 13 Craigmillar Park	hatter		64 and 44 North Bridge
	Mrs Dunlop	ditto			
	Grace E Dunlop	ditto			
	Jessie G Dunlop	ditto			
	Jamesina Fingus	11 Claremont Crescent			
	Mrs Gladstone	109 Warrender Park Road			
	<b>David Hay</b>	17 Brunton Place	no occupation		
	Mrs Hay	ditto			
	Maggie Hay	ditto			
	Mary Jane Hay	ditto			
	James Hunt	9 South Richmond Street		Mrs J McKinlay	no occupation
	Elizabeth L Johnstone	1 St John Street		J L Johnstone	butcher and poulterer 180 Canongate
	Ormiston Johnstone	ditto			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Alexander Lawson</b>	39 George Square	no occupation		
	Elizabeth McDonald	22 West Salisbury Place			
	<b>Alexander McIntosh</b>	4 Infirmary Street			
	Mrs McIntosh	ditto			
	<b>John Marshall jr</b>	1 Dalkeith Road	clerk		
	Mrs Mary W Marshall	ditto			mother
	Ann Milligan	32 East Claremont Street	servant	John A Bryden	no occupation
	<b>William Muir</b>	Glenalmond Villa Sciennes Gardens	boot & shoemaker (William Muir & Son)		business 11 Catherine Street
	Mrs Muir	ditto			
	John Muir	ditto			
	Jemima T Muir	ditto			
	Marion C Muir	ditto			
	Margaret Peacock	21 Tarvit Street			
	Nellie Richardson	18 Graham Street			Speedwell Boarding House
	Jessie Ann Shearer	8 Torphichen Street	servant	F M Caird MB FRCSE	lecturer on surgery
	James Smeall	4 Deanbank Terrace			
	<b>John Sutherland</b>	162 Pleasance			
	Mrs Sutherland	ditto			
	Mary E Usher	6 Rochester Terrace			
	Horatio Watson	109 Canongate	caretaker (?)		Lochend Close Society School (A B Storrar teacher)
	Mrs Wintour	7 Milnes Court			
March 1888	<b>Francis Airey</b>	50 Sciennes			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	<b>John L Armstrong</b>	3 Chapel Street		James Carson	no occupation
	Mrs Armstrong	ditto			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	John W Black	1 Leamington Place		S D Black	assistant inspector of schools
	Mrs Black	ditto			
	John Burnet	26 St James Square			
	Mrs Chisholm	42 North Richmond Street		John Chisholm	cowfeeder
	<b>James Dick</b>	4 Ivy Terrace	no occupation		
	Mrs Dick	ditto			
	James Drysdale	7 Rillbank Terrace			
	<b>Mrs C Ferguson</b>	7 West Newington Place	no occupation		
	Janet Ferguson	ditto			
	Mrs Geddes	17 Gladstone Place			
	Eliza Hascliffe	13 Graham Street			Speedwell Boarding House
	<b>William Hendry</b>	10 Panmure Place			
	Mrs Hendry	ditto			
	<b>John Jamieson</b>	31a Minto Street			
	Mrs Jamieson	ditto			
	Mrs Knox	7 Henry Street			
	Isabella Knox	ditto			
	Janet Macbeth	34 North Castle Street			
	<b>James McIntosh</b>	18 Middle Arthur Place			
	Mrs McIntosh	ditto			
	Elizabeth G McIntosh	ditto			
	Mary B McIntosh	ditto			
	John McLean	5 Glen Street			
	<b>Alexander Meikle</b>	17 Livingstone Place	wheelwrights & blacksmiths		A Meikle & Son 287 Cowgate & 1 High School Yards
	Mrs G Meikle	ditto			
	Mrs J Morgan	16 Drumdryan Street			
	Thomas G Parsons		engineer at sea		
	<b>David Ramsay</b>	12 Haugh Street	carpenter		

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Robert Rutherford</b>	13 South Grey Street	tea & coffee merchant		62 Potterrow
	Janet T Rutherford	ditto			
	Mrs Simmons	57 East Crosscauseway			
	Davina Simmons	ditto			
	<b>Robert Stevenson</b>	3 Wolesley Terrace			
	Mrs Stevenson	ditto			
	Martha Stevenson	ditto			
	Arabella Stevenson	ditto			
	James A Tait	15 Dublin Street		<b>Thomas Tait</b>	smith/ironmonger
	<b>Samuel Walker</b>	8 Jordan Lane	teacher		MA BSc
	Mrs Walker	ditto			
	Mrs White	153 High Street			
March 1889	<b>Francis Airey</b>	50 Sciennes			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	Agnes Blair	47 Grove Street			
	Mary Blair	ditto			
	<b>George Burnet</b>	15 St John Street			
	Mrs Burnet	ditto			
	George Burnet jr	ditto			
	Mrs Chisholm	42 North Richmond Street		John Chisholm	cowfeeder
	Mary Denholm	33 Marshall Street			
	Agnes R Dryden	2 West Mayfield		Mrs A Dryden	no occupation
	Mrs Falconer	2 Rankeillor Street			
	Janet Falconer	ditto			
	Lizzie Falconer	ditto			
	Mrs Fowler	46 Home Street			
	<b>John Graham</b>	118 Causewayside			David Mitchell plumber
	Mrs Graham	ditto			
	<b>William Hay</b>	6 Parsons Green Terrace	draper		David Hay & Sons 55 Canongate
	Mrs B Hay	ditto			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Edward Hyslop</b>	17 James Street Pilrig			
	Mrs Hyslop	ditto			
	<b>James T Johnstone</b>	52 Broughton Street	butcher		42 Broughton Street & 30 Marchmont Road
	Mrs Johnstone	ditto			
	Mrs Lind	Corstorphine		James Lind	baker
	Robert McDonald	Curragh Camp Ireland	soldier		
	Maggie McKee	Portobello	servant		
	Mary McTaggart	22 Gilmore Place	servant	Mrs Bowack	no occupation
	Mrs Merrilees	8 West Adam Street			
	Elizabeth Muirhead	6 Grindlay Street			
	Margaret Peacock	1 Archibald Place	servant	David Whamond	no occupation
	Elizabeth Rendall	38 Restalrig Terrace Leith	servant	George Mackie	T&G Mackie <sup>49</sup>
	Margaret Sandilands	16 Morrison Street			M Sandilands & Co refreshment rooms
	Isabella Simpson	28 Buccleuch Place	servant	Rev William Cowan	church not stated presumably retired
	<b>William D Stewart</b>	17 Upper Gilmore Place	business proprietor		Romanes & Paterson 62 Princes Street <sup>50</sup>
	Mrs Stewart	ditto			
	<b>Thomas Tait</b>	15 Dublin Street	smith/ironmonger		See previous entry He was also now a Town Councillor.
	Mrs Tait	ditto			
	Isabella Tait	ditto			
	James A Tait	ditto			
	<b>James Walter</b>	64 Marchmont Crescent			
	Mrs Walter	ditto			

<sup>49</sup> drapers, clothiers, milliners, and dress and mantle makers 123 Kirkgate and 6 Earl Grey Street  
<sup>50</sup> clan tartan and Scotch tweed manufacturers to the Queen, the Prince & Princess of Wales and the Royal Family

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Thomas Whitson</b>	8 East Mayfield	commission agent		Thomas Whitson & Sons 14 and 16 Merchant Street
	Mrs Whitson	ditto			
	Andrew Whitson	ditto			
	Janet B Whitson	ditto			
	Elizabeth Whitson	ditto			
March 1890	<b>Francis Airey</b>	50 Sciennes			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	Mrs Ballantyne	56 Grove Street			
	Maggie Ballantyne	ditto			
	Elizabeth Ferrier	14 Morningside Place	servant	Rev Charles M Black	Christ Church Morningside (Episcopalian)
	Agnes Geddes	13 Spottiswoode Street			
	<b>Andrew Hamilton</b>	109 Warrender Park Road	no occupation		
	Mrs A Hamilton	ditto			
	Christina S Hamilton	ditto			
	Mrs Henderson	8 Moncrieff Terrace	servant	Angus McFarlane	no occupation
	Marion Johnstone	ditto	servant	Miss Wilson	no occupation <sup>51</sup>
	Christina Inrig	4 Magdala Place	servant	Miss Bruce	no occupation
	<b>John Macadam</b>	13 Annandale Street	baker		7 Calton Street & 3 Albert Place
	Mrs Macadam	ditto			
	Joseph H Macadam	ditto			
	Barbara Macadam	ditto			
	Mrs Macgregor	21 St Andrew Square			

<sup>51</sup> Two flats were at this address. Either could have been the employers.

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Cossar Mackenzie</b>	3 Westhall Gardens	iron founders		Mackenzie & Co architectural and general iron founders Gilmore Park and Slateford Road
	Mrs Mackenzie	ditto			
	Hugh Mason	8 St Leonards Hill			
	Janet Morgan	4 Hope Street		Mrs Currie	apartments
	Mrs Noble	2 Salisbury Street		Thomas Smart	no occupation
	<b>William Poole</b>	32 Forbes Road	no occupation		
	Mrs Poole	ditto			
	<b>Andrew Ritchie</b>	44 Minto Street	confectioner (also a Town Councillor)		11 & 13 Cockburn Street
	Mrs Ritchie	ditto			
	Jessie Ritchie	ditto			
	<b>Robert Rutherford</b>	13 South Grey Street	tea & coffee merchant		62 Potterrow
	Mrs Rutherford	ditto			
	Janet T Rutherford	ditto			
	May Rutherford	ditto			
	Jessie Shiells	13 Graham Street			Speedwell Boarding House
	<b>Louden Steel</b>	56 George Street			
	Mrs Steel	ditto			
	Mrs Sutherland	21 Lothian Street			
	Isabella Sutherland	ditto			
	<b>John Walker</b>	20 Polwarth Gardens	shop assistant	G M Wilson	baker, confectioner and biscuit manufacturer <sup>52</sup>
	Mrs Walker	ditto			
	<b>William Whitehead</b>	11 Edina Place	no occupation		
	Mary Wright	8 St Colme Street	servant	Harry Johnston	advocate
March 1891	<b>Francis Airey</b>	50 Sciennes			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			

<sup>52</sup> shops 20 Polwarth Gardens and 131 Dundee Street, house 3 Dundee Terrace



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>John Bartleman</b>	35 Alva Street	manufacturing goldsmith		30 Hanover Street
	Mrs Bartleman	ditto			
	Thomas Bartleman	ditto			
	Mrs Brown	City Hospital Infirmary Street			
	Eliza Carmichael	13 Graham Street			Speedwell Boarding House
	<b>Robert Craig</b>	172 Causewayside			
	Elizabeth Craig	ditto			
	Sarah Craig	ditto			
	<b>John Dobie</b>	11 Comiston Road	ironmonger and tinsmith		also 10 Braid Road
	Mrs Farrer	33 Wrights Houses		Mrs E Smith	cane & willow worker
	Mrs Geddes	Albert Place			
	Jessie Gregory	2 Learmonth Terrace	servant	Mrs Stark Christie	no occupation
	William Hendry	9 Brunstane Road Joppa			
	Mrs E Jamieson	Dalkaig Gorgie			
	<b>Alexander Lawson</b>	39 George Square	no occupation		
	Elizabeth McDonald	22 West Salisbury Place			
	<b>Donald A Mackenzie</b>	6 Hartington Gardens	ironmonger (also a Town Councillor)		10&20 Victoria Street
	Mrs Mackenzie	ditto			
	William C Mackenzie	ditto			DSc
	Lachlan P Mackenzie	ditto			
	Lizzie T Mackenzie (Mrs Palfrey)	ditto			
	Maggie P Mackenzie	ditto			
	<b>John Marshall</b>	1 Dalkeith Road	clerk		
	Mrs Marshall	ditto			
	Mary W Marshall	ditto			
	Marion Y Marshall	ditto			
	Janet Morgan	4 Hope Street		Mrs Currie	apartments

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	Thomas G Parsons	4 Bowhill Terrace			
	James Reid	St Catherines Gardens Murrayfield			
	Sarah Ann Reid	ditto			
	Mrs Robertson	Holyrood Palace			
	Margaret Scott	2 Salisbury Road	servant	Mrs Hill	no occupation
	<b>John Smellie</b>	20 Craighall Road Trinity	no occupation		
	Marion Smillie	ditto			
	John Smillie jr	ditto			
	<b>James Sutherland</b>	157 Warrender Park Road	joiner		
	Mrs Sutherland	ditto			
	Lizzie F Sutherland	ditto			
	Margaret E Sutherland	ditto			
	<b>John Walker</b>	52 Polwarth Gardens	builder & joiner		24 Morrison Street
	Mrs White	5 Borthwick Close Cowgate			
	Mrs Wright	4 North Richmond Street			
March 1892	<b>Francis Airey</b>	17 Blackwood Crescent			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	Agnes Bartie	16 Morrison Street	shop assistant		M Sandilands & Co refreshment rooms
	James Brunton	5 Elliot Street			
	<b>John Charters</b>	29 Frederick Street	victualler, corn and hay dealer		shop no.22
	Mrs Charters	ditto			
	Mary Denholm	3 Mayfield Terrace	servant	Miss Bain	no occupation
	Georgina Denholm	ditto	servant		
	Mrs F A Dunlop	3 Crichton Street			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>James Ferrier</b>	8 Spottiswoode Street	no occupation		
	Mrs J Ferrier	ditto			
	Isabella H Ferrier	ditto			
	James Ferrier jr	ditto			
	<b>John Graham</b>	118 Causewayside	shop assistant		David Mitchell plumber & gasfitter <sup>53</sup>
	Mrs Graham	ditto			
	Jeanie C Hay	10 Buccleuch Street		Mrs Fraser	ladies' nurse
	Lizzie Kilgour	106 Findhorn Place	servant	Miss Kemp	no occupation
	<b>Joseph H Macadam</b>	75 Montgomery Street			
	Mrs Macadam	ditto			
	<b>Alexander McIntosh</b>	63 South Bridge	shop assistant		William Cownie & Sons tailors and clothiers
	Mrs McIntosh	ditto			
	<b>John Macpherson (Baillie)</b>	1 Ramsay Garden	hotel proprietor		Cockburn Temperance Hotel 1 Cockburn Street
	Mrs Macpherson	ditto			
	James P Macpherson	ditto			
	Charles A Macpherson	ditto			
	George B Macpherson	ditto			from 1893 list
	Catherine Moffat	8 Murdoch Terrace			
	Janet Moffat	ditto			
	<b>Andrew Paterson</b>	7 Brown Street			
	Mrs Paterson	ditto			
	<b>Robert P Rendall</b>	108 Lauriston Place	no occupation		
	Mrs Rendall	ditto			
	Christina M Ross	10 Jamaica Street			

<sup>53</sup> also at Fountainhall Road (house 26 Upper Grey Street)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Thomas Sinclair</b>	22 North Richmond Street	joiner		
	Mrs Sinclair	ditto			
	<b>Robert Stoddart</b>	4 Ardmillan Terrace			
	Mrs Stoddart	ditto			
	Annie B Stoddart	ditto			
	Mrs Tweddell	11 West Richmond Street			
	Horatio Watson	13 Vennel			
	Mrs Wintour	7 Milnes Court			
March 1893	<b>Francis Airey</b>	9 Livingsone Place			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	Agnes Bartie	16 Morrison Street	shop assistant		M Sandilands & Co refreshment rooms
	Maggie Bruce	Ravenscroft Gilmerton		David Bruce	no occupation
	Mrs Chalmers	8 South Richmond Street			
	Mrs Currie	2 Gifford Park			
	John Douglas	66 Haymarket Terrace			
	Sarah Douglas	ditto			
	<b>Mrs D K Ferguson</b>	6 West Newington Place	no occupation		
	<b>William S Glass</b>	7 South Oxford Street	chemist & druggist		Glass & Innes 46 Clerk Street
	Mrs Glass	ditto			
	William Hastie	3 Bristo Place			
	Alexander William Houston	1 Edina Place		Mrs Houston	no occupation
	Mrs Jardine	25 St Patrick Square			
	Margaret Lawrie	11 Davie Street	servant	Mrs William Longmoor	no occupation
	<b>Peter McArthur</b>	39 Buccleuch Street			
	Mrs McArthur	ditto			
	Hugh McKay	11 South Elgin Street		William Gow	no occupation

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>John Marshall</b>	1 Dalkeith Road	clerk		
	Mrs Marshall	ditto			
	Grace H Marshall	ditto			
	Mary W Marshall	ditto			
	Marion Y Marshall	ditto			
	Robert Marshall	ditto			
	Maggie Morrison	6 James Court 423 Lawnmarket			
	Margaret Peacock	4 Panmure Place			
	<b>Walter Robb</b>	20 Cathcart Place			
	Mrs Robb	ditto			
	<b>Robert Rutherford</b>	13 South Gray Street	tea & coffee merchant		62 Potterrow
	Mrs Rutherford	ditto			
	Janet T Rutherford	ditto			
	May Rutherford	ditto			
	Barbara B Snodgrass	92 Findhorn Place	servant	Mrs Wilson	no occupation
	Mrs Sutherland	37 Milton Street			
	Robert Walker	20 Morrison Street		Archibald Walker	chimneysweeper
	Mrs Walker	ditto			
	<b>Alfred Whittaker</b>	5 Gibson Street Bonnington	no occupation		
	Agnes B Young	7 Heriot Row	servant	W S Greenfield MD	Professor of Clinical Medicine
March 1894	<b>Francis Airey</b>	9 Livingstone Place			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	<b>Adam Ballantyne</b>	7 Wardlaw Place			
	Mrs Ballantyne	ditto			
	Maggie Brown	16 Morrison Street	shop assistant		M Sandilands & Co refreshment rooms
	Eliza Carmichael	24 Brougham Place			
	Maggie Fraser	ditto			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Richard Currie</b>	Lothian Street			
	Mrs Currie	ditto			
	James Eunson	12 Shrub Place Leith Walk			
	Jane Dickson Hamilton	18 Woodburn Terrace			
	Margaret Heron	34 Abercromby Place	servant	R A Paterson	corn merchant 49 Constitution Street
	Margaret Kinninmont	St Patrick Square (Mrs Pryde)	servant (?)		
	<b>John Macadam</b>	13 Annandale Street	baker		57 Leith Street and 3 Albert Place
	Mrs Macadam	ditto			
	Jessie Macadam	ditto			
	Barbara Macadam	ditto			
	Maggie McKee	Easter Duddingston Lodge	servant	Robert Hunter	no occupation
	Jane Macpherson	25 Abercromby Place	servant	Mrs Matheson	no occupation
	Mrs Mitchell	20 Nelson Street		R L Mitchell	no occupation
	Robert L Mitchell	ditto			son
	Jane L Mitchell	ditto			daughter
	Mrs Paterson	7 Dalrymple Place			
	<b>John Reid</b>	10 Gladstone Terrace	reporter		
	Mrs Reid	ditto			
	<b>Robert Rutherford</b>	13 South Gray Street	tea & coffee merchant		62 Potterrow
	Mrs Rutherford	ditto			
	May Rutherford	ditto			
	Jemima M Rutherford	ditto			
	<b>Peter P Slater</b>	37 Marchmont Crescent	solicitor		
	Mrs Slater	ditto			
	Mrs Sutherland	28 Milton Street Abbeyhill			
	<b>John Walker</b>	52 Polwarth Gardens	builder/joiner		24 Morrison Street
	Mrs Walker	ditto			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Thomas Whitson</b>	8 East Mayfield	commission agents		8,9,14 &16 Merchant Street
	Mrs Whitson	ditto			
	Andrew Whitson	ditto			
	Janet B Whitson	ditto			
	Elizabeth Whitson	ditto			
May 1895	<b>Francis Airey</b>	5 Dalkeith Road			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	Sarah Jane Airey	ditto			
	<b>Mrs Ballantyne</b>	12 St Peters Place	no occupation		
	Maggie Ballantyne	ditto			
	David Ballantyne	ditto			
	John Ballantyne	ditto			
	Janet Maggie Brown	24 Teviotdale Place			
	Mrs Campbell	25 Marchmont Road		M Campbell	no occupation
	<b>Laurence Cossar</b>	10 Bruntsfield Gardens	no occupation		
	Mrs Cossar	ditto			
	Jessie Cossar	ditto			
	Isabella C Cossar	ditto			
	<b>Alexander Dickson</b>	9 Dalkeith Road	painter		A & T Dickson 10 Hope Park Terrace
	Mrs Dickson	ditto			
	<b>James Ferrier</b>	8 Spottiswoode Street	no occupation		
	Mrs Ferrier	ditto			
	Isabella H Ferrier	ditto			
	James Ferrier jr	ditto			
	<b>Andrew Hamilton</b>	Cameron Terrace	no occupation		
	Mrs Hamilton	ditto			
	Christina S Hamilton	ditto			
	Bridget S Hogan	3 St Arthur Place			
	Mrs Jardine	44 Rankeillor Street			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	Jessie A Lawton	23 George Square	servant	Alexander Miles	MD FRCSE
	Mrs J McCallum	5 Upper Gilmore Terrace			
	Mrs McKenzie	Sycamore Villa Juniper Green		Donald McKenzie	chemist
	<b>James P Macpherson</b>	23 Duke Street	shop assistant		Archibald Fordyce wine & spirit merchant 21&23 Duke Street
	Mrs Macpherson	ditto			
	Caroline Moffat	4 Grindlay Street		J Beaton	apartments
	Janet Moffat	ditto			
	<b>Joseph Paterson</b>	9 East Arthur Place			
	Mrs Paterson	ditto			
	<b>Mrs Ritchie</b>	44 Minto Street	no occupation		
	James Ritchie	ditto			
	<b>Mrs Scott<sup>54</sup></b>	40 Lauriston Place	no occupation		
	Jane Scott	ditto			
	Margaret Scott	ditto			
	Mrs Stark	50 Buccleuch Street			
	Elizabeth Thomson	3 Gillespie Place			
	Clementina Walter	17 Livingstone Place			
	Jessie Walter	ditto			
	Thomas Wilson	Bath Lodge Pitt Street			
May 1896	<b>Francis Airey</b>	5 Dalkeith Road			
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	Sarah Jane Airey	ditto			
	<b>James Barn</b>	14 Regent Place			
	Mrs Barn	ditto			
	James Brown	4 Infirmary Street (Ferguson)			

<sup>54</sup> Scott Brothers, bakers & confectioners, were also listed at 40 Lauriston Place. Other shops were at 38-40 Lothian Street, 54 Warrender Park Road and 245 Canongate (PO Directory 1895)



Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Andrew H Carmichael</b>	7 Panmure Place	butcher		46 Lothian Street & 15 Canongate
	Mrs Carmichael	ditto			
	<b>James Craig</b>	5 Bernard Terrace	confectioner		41 North Bridge
	Mrs Craig	ditto			
	Cecilia Craig	ditto			
	Christina R Craig	ditto			
	Elizabeth R Craig	ditto			
	Euphemia Craig	ditto			
	Margaret W Craig	ditto			
	<b>John Dobie</b>	83 Mayfield Road	no occupation		
	Mrs Dobie	ditto			
	Mrs Fowler	10 Brougham Street			
	<b>James Hamilton</b>	10 Warrender Park Crescent	no occupation		
	Mrs Hamilton	ditto			
	Mrs Horne	33 Marshall Street			
	<b>Miss Nina Horne</b>	ditto	milliner		
	Bessie Horne	ditto			
	Ormiston Johnston	7 Gillespie Place			
	Jessie A Lawton	23 George Square	servant	Alexander Miles	MD FRCSE
	Mrs McEvoy	40 Bristo Street		Mrs Kinnear	ladies' nurse
	<b>A C Macpherson</b>	23 Dublin Street	no occupation		
	Mrs Macpherson	ditto			
	Lewis Mitchell	Sycamore Bank Manse Road Corstorphine		Robert K Mitchell	no occupation
	John Payne	9 Davie Street			
	<b>Mrs Ritchie</b>	44 Minto Street	no occupation		
	James Ritchie	ditto			
	Mary E Ritchie	ditto			
	Thomas Sinclair jr	3 Richmond Court			
	Mrs Sinclair	ditto			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>James Sutherland</b>	43 Barclay Place	joiner		157 Warrender Park Road
	Mrs Sutherland	ditto			
	Margaret E Sutherland				
	Mrs Turnbull	29 Holyrood Square			
	George Turnbull	ditto			
	Horatio Watson	13 Vennel			
	Marion Watson	ditto			
	John Young	21 St Johns Hill		George Donaldson	no occupation
May 1897	<b>Francis Airey</b>	5 Dalkeith Road	no occupation		
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	Sarah Jane Airey	ditto			
	<b>Thomas Bartleman</b>	10 Forbes Road	grocers & provision merchant		J B Bartleman & Co 10 Pitt Street
	Mrs Bartleman	ditto			
	<b>John Burnet</b>	10 St Johns Hill			
	Mrs Burnet	ditto			
	Marion Chisholm	42 North Richmond Street			J & W Chisholm dairymen
	Mary Dick	33 Arthur Street			
	Mrs Falconer	2 Rankeillor Place			
	Janet Falconer	ditto			
	Lizzie Falconer	ditto			
	Maggie Falconer	10 Spence Street	servant	Miss Cairns	no occupation
	<b>John Graham</b>	107 Causwayside	shop assistant		<b>William Muir</b> bootmaker <sup>55</sup>
	Mrs Graham	ditto			
	Thomas Henderson	7 Greenside Place		Charles Tennant	hairdresser & perfumier
	Mrs Hume	10 Salisbury Street			
	Margaret Jane Hume	ditto			

<sup>55</sup> Mr Muir had 26 shops throughout the city. 107 Causwayside was one of them. (See entry for March 1887 above.)

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	Marion Johnstone	8 Moncrieff Terrace	servant	William Forsyth	grocer
	Miss J McCallum	5 Upper Gilmore Terrace			
	<b>Thomas Banks McLachlan</b>	5 Denham Green Avenue Trinity	no occupation		
	Mrs McLachlan	ditto			
	Mrs Mitchell	20 Nelson Street		R L Mitchell	no occupation
	Robert L Mitchell	ditto			
	Jane L Mitchell	ditto			
	<b>Joseph Paterson</b>	9 East Arthur Place			
	Mrs Paterson	ditto			
	<b>Robert P Rendall</b>	17 Keir Street	no occupation		
	Mrs Rendall	ditto			
	Thomas Sinclair jr	3 Richmond Court			
	Mrs Sinclair	ditto			
	John Sutherland	8 Roxburgh Terrace		George Crabbie	no occupation
	Sydney Sutherland	ditto			
	<b>James Walker</b>	52 Polwarth Gardens	bootmaker		James Walker & Sons 164 Lothian Road
	Mrs Walker	ditto			
	<b>Alfred Whittaker</b>	1 Fleshmarket Close 199 High Street	house agent		
May 1898	<b>Francis Airey</b>	5 Dalkeith Road	no occupation		
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	Sarah Jane Airey	ditto			
	Mrs Ballantyne	34 Temple Park Crescent			
	Maggie Ballantyne	ditto			
	David Ballantyne	ditto			
	John Ballantyne	ditto			
	Mary Bremner	155 Lothian Road			
	Mrs Campbell	25 Marchmont Road			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>James Craig</b>	5 Bernard Terrace	confectioner		41 North Bridge
	Mrs Craig	ditto			
	Cecilia R Craig	ditto			
	Christian R Craig	ditto			
	Elizabeth R Craig	ditto			
	Euphemia Craig	ditto			
	Margaret W Craig	ditto			
	<b>George Currie</b>	2 Drumdryan Street	grocer & provision merchant		shop 2A
	<b>Sarah Douglas</b>	40 Haymarket Terrace	stationers		S Douglas & Co stationers Haymarket Terrace Post Office
	<b>John B Fairgrieve</b>	1 Saville Terrace	bookseller, stationer & newsagent		7 & 9 Cockburn Street
	Mrs Fairgrieve	ditto			
	Maggie Fraser	24 Brougham Place			
	<b>Mrs A Hamilton</b>	3 Bruntsfield Avenue	no occupation		see Andrew Hamilton May 1895
	Christina S Hamilton	ditto			
	<b>William Henderson</b>	105 High Street			Moulders Hall
	Mrs Henderson	ditto			
	Robina Hunter	3 Lonsdale Terrace			
	Mrs Jardine	44 Rankeillor Street			
	Margaret Lawrie	11 Davie Street	servant	Robert Trotter	tailor & clothier
	<b>Donald A Mackenzie (Ballie JP)</b>	14 Greenhill Park	ironmonger		see March 1891
	Mrs Mackenzie	ditto			
	William C Mackenzie	ditto			D Sc
	Maggie P Mackenzie	ditto			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>A C Macpherson</b>	23 Dublin Street	no occupation		
	Mrs Macpherson	ditto			
	<b>John Marshall</b>	1 Dalkeith Road	sack superintendent		North British Railway Company 3 Bristo Place
	Mrs Marshall	ditto			
	Mary W Marshall	ditto			
	Marion Y Marshall	ditto			
	Grace H Marshall	ditto			
	Robert Marshall	ditto			
	Jane M Marshall	ditto			
	Lewis Mitchell	10 (?) Gladstone Terrace		James Mitchell (12)	no occupation
	<b>Annie Paterson</b>	47 Warrender Park Road	no occupation		
	Maggie Paterson	ditto			
	<b>William Poole</b>	16 Keith Crescent Blackhall	no occupation		
	Mrs Poole	ditto			
	<b>Alexander Robertson</b>	3 Bristo Place	North British Railway Company (?)		
	Isabella Sellar	11 Oxford Terrace		Miss Lister	boarding school 11-12 Oxford Street
	<b>James Smart</b>	173 Dalkeith Road	no occupation		
	Mrs Smart	ditto			
	<b>James Sutherland</b>	43 Barclay Place	joiner		147 Warrender Park Road
	Mrs Sutherland	ditto			
	Margaret E Sutherland	ditto			
	<b>Andrew Taylor</b>	5 Upper Gilmore Terrace	agent Callendar Coal Company		9 Port Hamilton & 57 Morrison Street
	Mrs Taylor	ditto			
	Helen Taylor	ditto			
	William Taylor	ditto			

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Samuel Walker</b>	126 Gilmore Place	teacher		MA BSc
	Mrs Walker	ditto			
	Thomas Watson	16 Heriot Place			
	<b>Alfred Whittaker</b>	101 Montgomery Street	house agent		
	Alexander Wilson	15 Wardlaw Street			
May 1899 <sup>56</sup>	<b>Francis Airey</b>	5 Dalkeith Road	no occupation		
	Mrs Airey	ditto			
	Sarah Jane Airey	ditto			
	<b>Adam Ballantyne</b>	3 Westfield Street			
	Mrs Ballantyne	ditto			
	Henry C Bell	58 Prince Albert Buildings			
	Jemima Burt	59 South Bridge			
	Marion Chisholm	42 North Richmond Street			J & W Chisholm dairymen
	<b>Rev Robert Craig</b>	15 Buccleuch Place	minister Brighton Street		MA DD
	Mrs Craig	ditto			
	Maggie May Craig	ditto			
	Jane Alice Craig	ditto	doctor		MB
	Mary Lily Craig	ditto			
	<b>John Dobie</b>	11 Comiston Road	ironmonger & tinsmith		8&10 Braid Road
	<b>John B Fairgrieve</b>	1 Saville Terrace	bookseller, stationer & newsagent		7 & 9 Cockburn Street
	Christina Gillespie	17 St Patricks Square		James Gray	no occupation
	Margaret Gillespie	ditto			
	William Hastie	47 George IV Bridge			

<sup>56</sup> Meetings for worship will be held at the Protestant Institute 17 George IV Bridge while the new chapel is being erected in Bristo Place; other meetings in Central Halls 18 Nicolson Street.

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	<b>Miss Nina Notman Horne</b>	33 Marshall Street	milliner		
	Mrs Horne	ditto			
	Bessie Horne	ditto			
	Isabella Horne	ditto			
	<b>James T Johnstone</b>	20 Broughton Place	butcher		42 Broughton Street & 93 Gilmore Place
	Mrs Johnstone	ditto			
	John McDonald	4 West Adam Street		Richard Burn	blacksmith
	Mrs Mackie	21 Seton Place		Alexander Mackie	8&9 Melbourne Place & 4 Victoria Street <sup>57</sup>
	William J Mackie	ditto			
	Andrew W Mackie	ditto			
	<b>James P Macpherson</b>	23 Duke Street	Cockburn Hotel 1 Cockburn Street		see John Macpherson March 1892
	Mrs Macpherson	ditto			
	<b>Alexander Meikle</b>	2 Canonmills	lorry, van & wheelworks		A Meikle & Son Beaverbank
	Mrs Meikle	ditto			
	<b>Robert Monteith</b>	16 Panmure Place	no occupation		
	Mrs Monteith	ditto			
	Margaret Peacock	c/o Mrs Skinner 7 Gillespie Place	servant	Mrs Skinner	no occupation
	<b>John Reid</b>	16 Forbes Road	shorthand writer		
	Mrs Reid	ditto			
	John F Reid	ditto			
	Jane Scott	40 Lauriston Place		Mrs Scott	no occupation
	Margaret Scott	ditto			
	Euphemia Stirling	130 Buccleuch Street			

<sup>57</sup> toolmaker, gunmaker, fishing tackle maker, cutler and ironmonger

Date	Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Notes
	Sydney Sutherland	62 Gilmore Place	caretaker (?)		Chalmers Home for Working Girls
	Elizabeth Thomson	(Marks) 39 Bruntsfield Place	servant (?)		
	<b>John Walker</b>	Polwarth Grove Cottage	builder & joiner		24 Morrison Street
	Mrs Walker	ditto			
	<b>W Watson</b>	4 Infirmary Street			
	Mrs Watson	ditto			
	<b>David Ross Wright</b>	6 Albert Place			
	Mrs Wright	ditto			



## Appendix 5

**Bristo Place Scotch Baptist Church: Members 1875-1905**

(Names taken from members' handbooks for the period, published annually; heads of households who were members are shown in bold type.)

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Joseph Adams	32 East Preston Street		W Adams		
Isabella Adams	5a Buccleuch Street				
Rose Adams	34 Clerk Street		Miss E Adams	milliner	sister ?
James Ainslie	1 Raes Buildings Dumbiedykes				
Mrs Ainslie	ditto				
Isabella Aitchison	Longmore Hospital	nurse			
<b>Charles Allan</b>	Glenalmond Lodge Gillsland Road				J Allan & Sons
Elizabeth Allan	20 Barony Street				
Mrs James Allan	12 Hartington Place Viewforth				
Ann Anderson	Lauriston Lane				
Anna Anderson	3 Howard Place				
<b>Edward Anderson</b>	22 Tower Street Portobello	joiner			
<b>Mrs R Grove Anderson</b>	16 Upper Gray Street	no occupation			widow of Robert Grove Anderson, son of Robert Anderson jr. co-pastor 1838-68
<b>Mrs Armstrong</b>	16 Roseneath Place	no occupation			
<b>Mrs Andrew Arthur</b>	15 Buccleuch Place	income from houses			
<b>William Arthur</b>	74 Fountainbridge	night watchman			
Mrs Jane Arthur	ditto				
<b>James Austin</b>	61 Inverleith Row	cabinet maker			
Mrs Austin	ditto				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Benjamin Baikie</b>	26 Albert Street Leith Walk (1881)	teacher of classics & English			
ditto	18 Hart Street (1901)	stationer			5 Dublin Street
Jane Baikie	ditto	dressmaker			daughter
Alexina Bain	20 Cumberland Street	servant	William Monteith	no occupation	
<b>Colin Bain</b>	51 Clerk Street	golf ball maker			
Mrs Bain	ditto				
Mrs Barclay	4 St Leonard's Bank		Mrs Robert Scott	no occupation	
<b>Francis Barker</b>	Laurence Villa Sciennes Gardens	no occupation			
John S Bayne	15 Montpelier	bookseller, stationer & GPO			44 Leven Street
Elizabeth Bell	1 Nottingham Terrace		James Bell	no occupation	
Margaret Bell	109 George Street				
<b>William Bennet</b>	Craiglockhart	governor City Poorhouse			
Mrs Bennet	ditto				
Lilian Bennet	Corstorphine				
Hugh Bennie	11 Prospect Street				
Margaret Bernard	72 Buccleuch Street				
Annie Berwick	13 Cumin Place				
<b>James Bishop</b>	3 Downie Place	coal merchant/agent			
Christina Bishop	ditto				daughters
Alison Bishop	ditto				
Margaret Bishop	ditto				
Jessie Bishop	ditto				
Jane Bishop	12 Lauriston Park (nurses' home)	nurse			
<b>William Bishop</b>	9 Warrender Park Terrace	no occupation			
Christina Bishop	ditto				daughter
Mrs Bishop	11 Keir Street				
Charles Black	59 Bristo Street		John Alexander	tailor	

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>John D Blair</b>	32A Warrender Park Crescent	hosier & glover			2 South College Street
Mrs Blair	ditto				
<b>John S Bone</b>	2 Marchmont Street	no occupation			
Mrs Bone	ditto				
Isabella Borthwick	23 Walker Street	servant	Lt Col G W Oldham	no occupation	
<b>Andrew Bowie</b>	4 Pilrig Street	employed by R Anderson & Co.			
Mrs Bowie	ditto				
Jane Bowie	ditto				
Alison Brown	20 Heriot Place	saleswoman	Peter Brown	gardener	daughter
Mrs Brown	40 Findhorn Place				
<b>Mrs G Brown</b>	2 Parkside Terrace	no occupation			
James Brown	ditto				son
Catherine Bruce	9 Learmonth Terrace				
Margaret Bruch	Hittfield Portobello				
Mrs Buchan	4 Union Street Leith (shop)	shop assistant	R A Robertson	ironmonger & china merchant	house 32 Elm Row
<b>Benjamin Buchanan</b>	Spring Bank Station Road Corstorphine	no occupation			
<b>John Buie</b>	19 St Giles Street	Bank of Scotland			
Mrs Buie	ditto				
Helen Burgess	3 Buccleuch Place	servant	William Donaldson	solicitor	
<b>Mrs Burman</b>	37 St Leonard Street	no occupation			
Edna Burman	11 Largo Place Leith				
Mary Burton	Deanbank House	cook	Mrs Jane Dallas	annuitant	
Alexander Calder	12 Elmwood Terrace Leith				
Mrs Annie Camblin	25 Bruntsfield Avenue				
Mrs Cameron	East Dublin Street Lane				
John Campbell	31 Carnegie Street				
Charles Carter	3 Moray Street				
<b>Charles Cathie</b>	18 Marchmont Road	no occupation			
Mrs Cathie	ditto				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>William Cathie</b>	12 Perth Street	lithographic artist			
Mrs Cathie	ditto				
<b>John Cay</b>	14 Barony Street	book keeper			
Mrs Cay	ditto				
Janet Clark	26 Wellington Street Portobello				
<b>Mrs Cochrane</b>	5 Gladstone Place Leith	no occupation			
Mary Connacher	7 Forbes Street				
Mrs Cooper	2 Bruce Street				
Mary Cooper	53 East London Street				
<b>James Cormack</b>	St Helena Colinton	family grocers & wine merchants			Cormack Brothers
<b>Anne Couper</b>	103 Montgomery Street	lodgings			
Mrs Craig	22 Moat Street				
<b>George Craigie</b>	44 Rosemount Buildings	cabinetmaker			
Mrs Craigie	ditto				
Mrs Crease	6 George Square		William Crease	no occupation	
Miss Crease	ditto				daughter ?
<b>Robert Crombie</b>	15 Bernard Terrace	draper			Mercer & Crombie fancy draper, lace, ribbon and millinery warehouse 13-17 Nicolson Street
Mrs Crombie	ditto				
David Crombie	ditto				
William Crombie	ditto	draper's assistant			son of partner
Mrs Cumming	70 Buccleuch Street				
Anne Cumming	6 Cobden Crescent				
Frances Cumming	25 Cumberland Street		<b>Misses Cumming</b>	dressmaker	
Janet Cumming	ditto			ditto	
Jessie Cumming	5 Albert Terrace Morningside	servant	Mrs A Mackenzie	no occupation	

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Isabella Cunningham	7 West Nicolson Street	servant	George Watters	accountant & house agent	21 Craufurd Road
Mrs Cunliffe	11 Straiton Place Portobello				
Alexander Dalgleish	5 West Crosscauseway				
Alexander Dall	12 Grassmarket				
Margaret Dempsey	8 Balfour Street	servant	Andrew Johnstone	no occupation	
William Dick	20 Caledonian Road				
Janet Dick	40 Scotland Street		George Dick	no occupation	daughter ?
Andrew Dickson	Old Craighall				
Mrs Donaldson	2 Henry Place				
Andrew Duncan	23 Cathcart Place				
Richard Edgar	5 Livingston Place	missionary	James Knox	no occupation	
Mrs Edgar	ditto				
Annie Elder	30 Earl Grey Street				
George Elder	15 Beaverhall Terrace				
<b>George Elmslie</b>	2 Melville Street	no occupation			
Mrs Elmslie	ditto				
<b>George W Elmslie</b>	12 Hartington Place (1881)	no occupation			son
Mrs Elmslie	ditto				
<b>David Fair</b>	11 Leven Terrace				
Mrs Fair	ditto				
Helen Faulds	150 Dumbiedykes Road		James Spence	brush maker	
Christine Ferguson	4a Lauriston Gardens				House of Mercy Laundry (4 St Catherine's Convent)
James Ferguson	5 Tarvit Street				
Margaret Ferguson	5 Merchiston Park				
<b>Mrs (W M) Finch</b>	18 East Preston Street	no occupation			

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Helen Finlay	40 St Mary Street				
Jane Fleming	2 South Elgin Street				
Lizzie Fleming	ditto				sister
Mrs Forbes	6 Elm Row				
James Forrest	28 Comely Bank Place				
Isabella Frame	22 South St James Street		James Frame	journeyman shoemaker	daughter
Annie Fraser	16 Comely Bank Place				
Marion Fraser	71 South Clerk Street				
Mrs Galbraith	1 Dalkeith Road Joppa		William Galbraith	no occupation	
Elizabeth Geddes	13 Warrender Park Crescent				
Mrs Bertram Geekie	126 St Stephen Street				
Mrs Gibson	6 West Preston Street				
Emma Gibson	43 St Patrick Square				
Grace Gibson	7 Viewforth Gardens				
William Gilchrist	Night Asylum 190 High Street	superintendent			
Mrs Gillon	19 Grange Road				
Robert Gilmour	3 Jamaica Street		Miss Malham	upholsterer	
Mrs Gold	5 West Catherine Place				
Mrs Gordon	17 London Street				
James Gordon	114 High Street				
Janet Gove	65 Prince Albert Buildings (shop) 1a Pilrig Place (house)	servant/shop assistant	<b>J Jackson</b> (shop)	grocer & wine merchant	
<b>Thomas Govenlock</b>	19 St Leonard's Street	bootmaker			
Amelia Govenlock	21 Brougham Place (1901)				daughter
David Graham	15 East Arthur Place				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
George Graham	5 West Adam Street		John Graham	bookbinder	son
<b>William Grant</b>	19 Hatton Place (1881)	co-pastor 1870-1902			
Anne Grant	28 East Preston Street (1875)		<b>William Grant</b>		daughter
Patrick Grant	21 Cluny Gardens (1905)		<b>Percival Waugh</b>	co-pastor 1903-23	brother-in-law, son of William Grant
Mary Grant	Orwell Lodge Polwarth Terrace	servant	Thomas G Taylor	J Taylor & Son	
Mary Anne Grant	24 Magdala Crescent				
<b>John Grassie</b>	3 Valleyfield Street	no occupation			
Mrs Grassie	ditto				
<b>Andrew Gray</b>	16 Dewar Place	cabinet maker			
Mrs Abigail Gray	ditto				
<b>Mrs Andrew Gray</b>	9 Blackwood Crescent	no occupation			
Anne Gray	1 Royal Terrace	servant	John Colquhoun	no occupation	
Fanny Gray	11 Arthur Street				
James Gray	11 Murdoch Terrace				
<b>William Gray</b>	The Tower Portobello	no occupation			
William Gray jr	ditto				son
<b>Agnes Graystone</b>	8 Oxford Street	no occupation			
<b>Miss Grieve</b>	26 Wellington Street Portobello	no occupation			
Cecilia Gulland	11 Heriothill Terrace		John Gulland	no occupation	daughter
Eliza Gulland	ditto				daughter
Jane Gulland	2 Roseneath Terrace				
Agnes Hair	56 Spottiswoode Street				
<b>Thomas Hall</b>	13 Bernard Terrace	no occupation			
Mrs Hall	ditto				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
John Halliday	9 Hope Street Lane	joiner/journeyman	Robert Gibson	joiner/journeyman	lodger
Mrs Harden	5 Potts Buildings Potterrow				
Margaret Hardie	11 Canning Place				
John Harley	28 Greenside Street				
Helen Harper	16 Beaumont Place				
Janet Hart	4 Brougham Street		Thomas Hart	no occupation	daughter
Margaret Hay	11 Braidburn Terrace	servant	J D Broadfoot	no occupation	
Agnes Hayes	8 St Peter's Place Viewforth				
Thomas Heatley	5 Leith Street Terrace				
Mrs Heatlie	18 Wardlaw Place				
<b>Walter Heatlie</b>	19 Slateford Road	tailor			
Peter Henderson	29 North High Street Musselburgh				
Mildred Hinmars	24 Bruntsfield Place				
Mrs Hitt	3 West Brighton Crescent Portobello				
John Horsburgh sr.	1 Carlung Place				
Mrs Horsburgh	Annville Canaan Lane				
Mrs W A Hunter	2 Lauriston Lane				
Mary Hunter	Woodbine Corstorphine				
George Hurford	26 Cumberland Street				
<b>David Hutton</b>	68 Montgomery Street	GPO			
Mrs Hutton	ditto				
William Hutton	15 Forrest Road		Mrs William Hutton	drysalter 28 Bristo Street	son



Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Catherine Inglis</b>	1 Rillbank Terrace	no occupation			
Margaret Inglis	ditto				sister
Sarah Inglis	5 Gladstone Terrace				
Jane Innes	1 John Street Portobello				
Robert Irvine	18 Dean Park Street		<b>John Jamieson</b>	bootmaker	
Mrs Irvine	ditto				
<b>John Jackson</b>	43 North Lauder Road			corn factor (St. Bernard Street)	
Mrs Jackson	ditto				Christina, sister of co-pastor William Grant
Grant Jackson	ditto				
Ina Jackson	ditto				
Joanne Jackson	44 Dick Place (1881)		<b>J Jackson</b>	J Jackson & Co corn factors 31 St Bernard Street & 23 Hope Street Glasgow	brother-in-law of co-pastor William Grant
George Jamieson	15 High School Yards				
Mrs Jamieson	6 West Montgomery Place				
<b>John Jamieson</b>	21 Rosslyn Crescent			bootmaker	
James Jamieson	ditto				son
Nettie Jamieson	68 Merchiston Avenue				
Mrs Johnson	3 Viewforth Square				
Mrs Johnston	15 Bath Street Portobello				
Jessie Johnston	5 Graham Street	servant	David Chirnside	baker	
Margaret Johnston	6 Belhaven Terrace				
David Kay	216 Morrison Street		Mrs Kay	no occupation	son
Elizabeth Keillor	115 Gilmore Place		David Keillor	no occupation	daughter
<b>David Kemp</b>	7 West Brighton Crescent Portobello			chemist	
Janet Kemp	ditto				daughter

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>D William Kemp</b>	Rose Cottage Trinity			R. Anderson & Co (iron merchant)	
Mrs Kemp	ditto				
Thomas Kennedy	179 Gilmore Place				
Mrs Kerr	23 Bristo Street				
Isabella Kinnaird	City Hospital Infirmary Street	nurse			
David Laing	24 Ashley Terrace				
Mrs Laing	5 Eyre Crescent				
Donald Laing	4 Bayton Terrace Granton Road				
Mrs Laing	ditto				
Mrs Laurie	West Calder		R Laurie	fruiterer & greengrocer	
Mrs Lawrie	11 Brown Street				
Jane Learmonth	Beech Cottage Manse Road Corstorphine	servant	Mrs Findlay	no occupation	
Margaret Leask	17 South Norton Place				
Mrs Lees	9 Caledonian Crescent				
Mrs Lennie	25 Gillespie Crescent				
Jane Letham	49 West Nicolson Street				
Jane Lidderdale	7 Grange Terrace				
Janet Linton	6 Blacket Place		Mrs Linton	no occupation	daughter
James Little	Royal Infirmary	gatekeeper			
Anne Livingstone	6 Drumsheugh Gardens				
Mary Livingstone	47 Manor Place				
Anne Lockhart	5 Teviot Row				
Jessie Lorimer	13 Home Street				
<b>Janet Loudon</b>	Jessieville Charterhall Road			no occupation	
Jane Loudon	ditto				sister
Mary Lowe	17 Marchmont Road		Robert Lowe	no occupation	daughter

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Thomas Lugton</b>	15 Napier Road			boot maker 95 Princes Street	employing 30 men, 3 women, 5 girls
Mrs Lugton	ditto				
James Lugton	ditto				son
Elizabeth Lugton	ditto				daughter
Thomas Lugton jr		boot maker			
Margaret Lyon	13 Claremont Crescent	servant	William Umpherston	no occupation	
<b>Donald MacDonald</b>	East Cottages Granton			attending boatman Inchkeith	
Mrs John MacDonald	ditto				mother
Joanna Macdonald	12 Blackford Road	servant	James Barbour	accountant Bank of Scotland	
Margaret Macdonald	6 Valleyfield Street				
Alexander Macfarlane	69 St Leonard's Street				
Mrs Aeneas Mackay	7 Sciennes				
<b>Alexander Mackenzie</b>	76 Haymarket Terrace			baker, cook & confectioner	69 Haymarket Terrace & 2 Murieston Road
James Mackenzie	11 Upper Viewcraig Row				
Mrs Mackenzie	ditto				
Jane Mackenzie	17 Dick Place		Miss Mackenzie	no occupation	
Mrs Mackenzie	12 Beaumont Place	servant	William McDonald	no occupation	
<b>Mrs Barbara Maconochie</b>	22 India Street			lodging house keeper (widow)	
<b>Mrs McBeath</b>	6 Warrender Park Terrace			no occupation	
William McDonald	13 Annandale Street				
Mrs McDonald	ditto				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Daniel McFarlane</b>	3 Greenside Street			grocer & wine merchant (shop 2 Greenside Street)	
Mrs McFarlane	ditto				
Margaret McFarlane	ditto				daughter (age 13 1881 census)
Jane McFarlane	7 Seton Place		<b>Mrs D McFarlane</b>	no occupation	daughter, mother now widowed (1901)
Daniel McFarlane jr	ditto	grocer & wine merchant			D & H McFarlane 97 Leith Street
<b>Mrs H McFarlane</b>	99 Leith Street			widow (husband partner in above business)	
Margaret McFarlane	ditto				daughter
Mrs McGown	Schoolhouse Corstorphine		George W T McGown	schoolmaster	
Margaret McGregor	9 Brighton Street				
Mrs McIntosh	3 Valleyfield Street				
<b>George McIntosh</b>	44 South Clerk Street			jeweller	G McIntosh & Son 70 South Clerk Street
Margaret P McIntosh	ditto				sister
Lizzie McIntyre	17 Drummond Street				
<b>Alexander McKenzie</b>	21 Millerfield Place			no occupation	
Alice McKenzie	ditto				daughter
Jessie McKinnon	19 George Street North Leith				
James McLagan	13 Parkside Street				
<b>James McLeod</b>	36 Buccleuch Place			upholsterer & cabinet maker	42 St Patrick's Square
<b>John McMichael</b>	18 Claremont Terrace			Rollo, McMichael & Co	also Bailie & JP
Mrs McPherson	22 St John Street		Mr McPherson	brass finisher	
Mrs Alexander McPherson	142 Montgomery Street		Alexander McPherson	no occupation	

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Anne McPherson	24 Albany Street	cook	Lady Eleanor Hope Johnstone	annuitant	
Isabella Manson	9 Arthur Street				
<b>James Marr</b>	10 Nicolson Street			no occupation	
Mrs Marr	ditto				
<b>Laurence Marshall</b>	9 Cumberland Street			GPO	
Mrs Marshall	5 Roxburgh Street				
Mrs Marshall	8 Nicolson Square	servant	William Wood	Wood, Ormerod & Co.	
Jessie Martin	Hermitage Murrayfield Road				
<b>Georgina Mather</b>	29 Brougham Street			draper, hosier and shirtmaker	497 Lawnmarket
Mary Matthew	2 Salisbury Square				
Robert Menelaws	187 Canongate		William Menelaws	baker	son
Catherine Menelaws	ditto				daughter
Mrs Menzies	2 Leggatsland Dean Village				
<b>Walter Mercer</b>	3 St Catherine Place			draper	Mercer & Crombie
Mrs Mercer	ditto				
Mrs Merson	2 Deanbank Terrace		John R Merson	no occupation	
Mrs Miller	12 Bread Street				
Gertrude Miller	10 Marshall Street				
<b>James Miller</b>	15 Viewforth			joiner	
Jane Miller	ditto				daughter
Mrs William Miller	3 James Court				
<b>Mrs Margaret Mitchell</b>	3 Dean Street Stockbridge			no occupation	
Jacob Mitchinson	76 High Riggs		Thomas McMahon	plasterer	
Georgina Moffat	5 Murray Street Crosscauseway	servant	Mrs Rose	sick nurse	

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Mrs Charles Mollison</b>	20 Bruntsfield Avenue			no occupation	
Isabella Mollison	ditto				daughter
<b>Alexander Mollison</b>	16 Bruntsfield Avenue			no occupation	
Agnes Mollison	ditto				daughter
James Mollison	18 Bruntsfield Avenue			no occupation	
Mrs Mollison	ditto				
Mary Mollison	17 Gladstone Terrace				
Charlotte Scott Moncrieff	9 Chalmers Street				
James Moon	St Andrew's Square				
John Mowbray	12 Drum Terrace				
Agnes Munro	6 Gladstone Terrace (1 Valleyfield Street 1881)		Mrs Munro	no occupation	daughter
Alexander Murray	16 Chapel Street				
Mrs Alexander Murray	Edmonstone, Liberton (1901)				
Grace Murray	7 Orwell Terrace		James Murray		daughter
Grace Neil	23 South Norton Street		David Neil	no occupation	daughter
Mrs Nelson	3 Valleyfield Street				
Mrs Nicolson	61 Brunswick Street				
<b>Joseph Nicolson</b>	27 Bellevue Road			optician	17 Haddington Place
Mrs Nicolson	ditto				
<b>Alexander P Nisbet</b>	4 Glengyle Terrace				T. Cooper & Co.
<b>Mrs Nisbet</b>	ditto			no occupation	now widowed (1891)
R Penman Nisbet	ditto				son
Margaret Nisbet	ditto				daughter
Isobel Nisbet	ditto				daughter

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Ann Nisbet	3 Great Junction Street	shop assistant	Misses M & J Dickson (house 9 Kirk Street)	trimmings and small wares	
George Nisbet	Summerlees Corstorphine				
David Old	11 Henderson Street Leith				
Mrs Oliver	9 Lonsdale Terrace				
Minnie Oswald	4 Buccleuch Street	shop assistant ?	James Gemmell	book seller	
<b>James Paul</b>	19 Bristo Place			church officer	
Sarah Paul	ditto				daughter
Fanny Pennell	3 Summerhall Place	servant	<b>John Boyd Wallace</b>	merchant	also evangelist
Mrs Pentzlin	Stonefield House Canaan Lane		yes	apartments	
Caroline Pentzlin	ditto				daughter
Annie Pooler	36 Lauriston Place (shop)	shop assistant	Andrew Brown	foreign & colonial postage stamp dealer	house 32A Warrender Park Terrace
<b>J R Porteus</b>	5 West Preston Street			commercial traveller	
Mrs Porteous	ditto				
Harriet Potts	36 George Street				
Ishmael Pratt	15 Viewforth		<b>James Miller</b>	joiner	
<b>Robert Pringle</b>	16 Montague Terrace			draughtsman	
<b>William Ramsay</b>	120 Princes Street			caretaker/clerk in insurance office	
Christine Redpath	124 Pleasance		Thomas Redpath	painter & decorator	daughter
<b>Miss Elizabeth Richardson</b>	16 Grove Street			at home	
Mrs Isabella Richardson	ditto				mother
<b>John Riddoch</b>	19 Upper Gilmore Place			MRCVS	
Mrs Riddoch	ditto				
Jane Robertson	Paterson's Cottage Dalry		John Robertson	joiner	sister ?
<b>Janet Robertson</b>	16 Grove Street			annuitant	age 73 1881 census
Jane Robertson	ditto	annuitant (sister)			age 68 1881 census

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Margaret Robertson	1 West Richmond Street				
<b>Mary Robertson</b>	63 Frederick Street			apartments	
Mrs Robertson	62 North Hanover Street				
Samuel Rodger	22 Panmure Place				
Mrs Ross	10 Rose Street	servant	William Davidson	bootmaker	
Margaret Ross	16 Magdala Crescent	servant	Rev William Hanna (Free Church)		son- in- law of Thomas Chalmers
<b>Peter C Roughead</b>	13 West Preston Street			pianoforte maker/tuner	later dealer in musical instruments
Mrs Roughead	ditto				
Jessie Roughhead	ditto				
Elizabeth Roughead	ditto	teacher of music			
Thomas Roughead	ditto				
Catherine Roughead	ditto				
Bethia Roughead	ditto				
Mary Roughead	ditto	teacher of music			
<b>William Russell</b>	9 Brighton Street			no occupation	
Mrs Russell	ditto				
Mrs Russell	6 Bristo Place	Edinburgh Co-op Printing			
Helen Sandison	36 Buccleuch Place	servant	John Gibb	plumber & gas fitter (no.28)	
Elizabeth Scott	6 Home Terrace				



Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Isabella Scott	125 Princes Street	nurse			Nurses' Home & Training Institution
Nellie Scott	39 Balbirnie Place				
Mrs Scott	12 Gladstone Terrace				
<b>James Scott</b>	13 Roxburgh Street			baker	
Mary Margaret Scott	ditto				daughter
Mrs Shearer	Watt Institution Leith				
Alexander Simpson	9 Upper Grove Place	coal merchant's clerk	Johan Tait (unmarried)	no occupation	lodger
Margaret Simpson	35 Buccleuch Place	servant	J G Workman	house painter	35 Buccleuch Street (business)
William Sinclair	9 Jordan Lane				
Agnes Smith	5 Hope Terrace	servant	Colin McCuig	CA and actuary	
Freda Smith	Redhall Slateford	servant	Robert Hutton	Redhall Mills	
<b>Mrs H H Smith</b>	4 St Vincent Street			no occupation	
Isabella Smith	76 Haymarket Terrace				
Mrs Mary Smith	24 Lauriston Street		William Smith	cabinet maker	
Mary Cormack Smith	13 Wellington Street				
<b>George Somerville</b>	2 Leven Terrace			no occupation	
Mrs Somerville	ditto				
Jessie Somerville	ditto				daughter
Jemima Somerville	ditto				daughter
<b>Mrs D Somerville</b>	28 Forrest Road			no occupation	
Alexander Somerville	ditto				son
William Somerville	ditto				son
Mary Stalker	28 Mayfield Terrace				
<b>Mrs Stark</b>	3 Buccleuch Street			embroiderer	

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>James C Steedman</b>	1 Rillbank Terrace			ironmonger	60 Newington Road workshop 56 Upper Gray Street
Andrew Steedman	ditto				son
Alison Steele	16 Upper Gray Street				
<b>Thomas Stevenson</b>	54 Candlemaker Row			master turner	employing 1 man & 3 boys
Mrs Jessie Stevenson	ditto				
Mrs Stewart	10 West Lauriston Place		Thomas Stewart	wholesale & retail china & glass merchant Main Point, West Port	
Elizabeth Stewart	ditto				daughter
<b>Marion Stewart</b>	44 Lauriston Place		<b>Misses Stewart</b>	china warehouse	1901 apparently inherited business
<b>Margaret Stewart</b>	ditto				
Mabel Stewart	32 Chalmers Street				
<b>David Stoddart</b>	163 Morrison Street			coal salesman	
Jessie Stoddart	ditto				daughter
Margaret Story	6 Roxburgh Terrace				
Mrs Sugden	32 Bristo Street				
<b>Alexander Sutherland</b>	6 Murdoch Terrace			cutter in rubber works	
Euphemia Sutherland	ditto				daughter
Georgina Sutherland	44 South Clerk Street				
James Sutherland	272 Gorgie Road				
<b>John Swan</b>	4 Leven Terrace	china merchant			10 Bristo Place 7 Veal Market
Mrs Swan	ditto				
Mrs Henry Swan	242 Canongate		Henry H Swan	china merchant	House 8 Chessel Court mother?

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Mrs Taylor	8 Thistle Place				
Margaret Taylor	2 Palmerston Road	servant	<b>Charles W Anderson</b>	R Anderson & Co iron merchants/importers	co-pastor 1868-1884
Mrs Thompson	15 Woodburn Terrace		William Thompson	no occupation	
Hannah Thomson	3 Polwarth Terrace				
William Thomson	42 Sciennes				
Mrs Thornton	172 Dalry Road		William Thornton	no occupation	
<b>James Thyne</b>	21 Greenhill Gardens			merchant (1875)	
Mrs Thyne	ditto			no occupation (1881)	
Marion Thyne	ditto				daughter
John Troup	Night Asylum 190 High Street		<b>William Gilchrist</b>	superintendent	
Jessie Tullo	Sciennes Hill Cottage		James Tullo	commercial traveller Thornton & Co India Rubber & Waterproof Manufacturers	daughter
<b>James Walker</b>	Harrogate Villa Sciennes Hill			grocer & wine merchant	54 Nicolson Street
Mrs Walker	ditto				
Ann Walker	ditto				
James Walker jr	ditto				
<b>Mrs Walker</b>	18 Marchmont Road			no occupation	
Lizzie Walker	ditto				daughter
<b>Elizabeth Ann Walker</b>	35 Sciennes Road			no occupation	
<b>J B Wallace</b>	3 Summerhall Place			merchant	also evangelist
Mrs Eliza Wallace	ditto				
Jacobina Wallace	33 Albany Street				
Isabella Warren	33 Belgrave Crescent				
Jane Watkins	15 Glengyle Terrace	servant	Misses Callender	no occupation	

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Mrs Watt	Bristo Place Chapel			caretaker	
<b>Percival Waugh</b>	71 Morningside Drive			assistant secretary Inland Revenue	co-pastor 1903-23
Mrs Waugh	ditto				daughter of co-pastor William Grant
Elizabeth Webster	33 Buccleuch Place				
John Whitehead	20 Orwell Place				
Mrs Whitehead	11 Roseburn Place				
<b>James Wilkinson</b>	2 Gladstone Terrace			printer	
Mrs Agnes Wilkinson	ditto				
Mrs Williamson	21 Jeffrey Street				
Alice Wilson	78 Dalkeith Road		Miss Grant Wilson	no occupation	
Joanna Wilson	58 Palmerston Place	servant	Charles Paterson	chartered accountant	24 St Andrew Square
Mrs Patrick Wilson	1 Craigie Terrace				
<b>Robert Wilson</b>	ditto	architect			
Mrs Robert Wilson	39 Dublin Street	no occupation	Mrs Agnes Wilson	annuitant	daughter-in-law
Joshua Wood	6 Palmerston Road				
Annie Young	121 Gilmore Place				
<b>George Young</b>	24 Buccleuch Street			no occupation	
Mrs Young	ditto				
Mrs Henry Young	11 Alva Place Norton Place				
Mrs J Denoon Young	112 Viewforth		James Denoon Young	no occupation	
Thomas G Young	Woodside Cottage Davidson's Mains				

**CHARLOTTE CHAPEL MEMBERSHIP ROLL 1908**

(Heads of households who are also members are shown in bold type.)

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Thomas Adams	84 Gorgie Road				
Janet Aird	22 Abercorn Road	servant	William McCrie	agent Union Bank of Scotland	Norton Place Branch 12 Earlston Place
Euphemia Aitken	Royal Infirmary	nurse			
Lily Aitken	113 Grove Street	servant or lodger	George Hall	no occupation	
<b>Robert Aitken</b>	10 Stanhope Place			tailor, clothier, hosier and draper	194 & 196 Rose Street
Mrs Aitken	ditto				
John Alexander	17a Gayfield Square				
Mrs Alexander	ditto				
Amelia Allan	John Watson's Institution Belford Road		John Allan	janitor	daughter
Jane Allan	39 Morrison Street				
<b>William Allan</b>	6 Panmure Place			music teacher	
Jane Allison	22 Douglas Crescent	servant	John S Pitman	Writer to the Signet	J & F Anderson 48 Castle Street
<b>Charles Allister</b>	2 Broughton Hall Terrace			draper	91 Broughton Street
Mrs Allister	ditto				
Annie Anderson	1 Sylvan Place	servant	Misses Grieve	no occupation	
Eleanor Anderson	37 Manor Place	servant	Hugh S Paton	Writer to the Signet	42 Castle Street
Jane Anderson	15 Great Stuart Street	servant	Rt Hon Lord Moncrieff of Tullibode	no occupation	
Edith Andrews	8 Charlotte Square	servant	Thomas R Ronaldson	MB FRCP(E)	also Justice of the Peace
James Annal	55 Cumberland Street	hairstresser	Mrs Howison		175 Leith Walk
<b>George Archibald</b>	29 Bellevue Road			newsagent & stationer	64 Rose Street
Mrs Archibald	ditto				
Mrs Armstrong	11 Marchmont Road		J Armstrong	no occupation	

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Barbara Arthur	10 Gloucester Place	servant	Ross		Governess Benevolent Society of Scotland
Maggie Arthur	St Leonards Dalkeith Road	servant	Bartholmew	Nelson's publisher	
George Balmer	Dean Orphanage Belford Road	? caretaker			only governor and matron are listed in directory
Mrs Barbour	13 Viewforth Gardens				
Georgina Barclay	Bonnington Park House Newhaven				
Georgina Barclay	228 Gorgie Road				
Mary Barclay	35 Caledonian Crescent		William Barclay	no occupation	
Elizabeth Barnes	9 Mortonhall Road	servant	Norman Lang Stevenson	LRCP & S (E) LDS	
Isabella Begbie	5 Strathearn Place	servant	Charles F M Maclachlan	no occupation	
Elizabeth Begg	8 Drumsheugh Gardens	servant	Miss Sang	no occupation	
Thomas Bell	64 Montgomery Street		George French	no occupation	
Andrew H Bennet	12 Caledonian Place				
<b>Elluf Beruldsen</b>	18 Murrayfield Gardens			ship chandler	5 Commercial Street Leith
Mrs Beruldsen	ditto				
Mrs Bews	17 Hillside Street				
William Bews	ditto				
Constance Bews	ditto				
Alice Biggar	18 Deanpark Street		T R Biggar	book keeper	daughter
Maggie Black	1 Learmonth Gardens	servant	W T Armour	stockbroker	5 St Andrew Square
Mary Blair	10 Cheyne Street				
Isabella Boa	10 West Castle Road	servant	John Smart	no occupation	
Mabel Bolton	Princes Street	shop assistant			Jenners (live in)
Mary Booth	2 Abercorn Gardens				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Elizabeth Boyle	10 Stanhope Place	servant	<b>Robert Aitken</b>		
Jessie Bremner	54 Melville Street	servant	Robert Stodart Lorimer	architect	49 Queen Street
John Bremner	17 Murieston Crescent		John Henderson	clerk of works	
Jeanie Brewster	29 Rutland Square	servant	A Fowler Hay	solicitor	Mackay & Hay 21 Rutland Square
Mrs Brock	17 Moat Street				
<b>Mrs Brooks</b>	23 Broughton Place			no occupation	
William Brooks	ditto				son
Christina Brooks	ditto				daughter
Maggie Brooks	ditto				daughter
<b>Alexander Brown</b>	19 Brougham Street			ladies' & gents' tailor	
Mrs Brown	ditto				
Annie Brown	203 Ferry Road				
Isabella Brown	Oxgangs Cottages Morningside				
Maggie Brown	19 Royal Circus	servant	Miss Fanny Spence	no occupation	
Mary Brown	17 Bellevue Place	servant	Mrs Hannah	no occupation	
Taylor Brown	21 Tarvit Street		Archibald Brown	no occupation	
Mrs Brown	ditto				
Mrs Brown	138 Bruntsfield Place				
William Brown	ditto				
Kate Brown	ditto				
Jean M Brunton	27 Howe Street		Misses Brunton	no occupation	
Elizabeth Brunton	ditto				
Mary Bryce	70 Bruntsfield Place	servant	J Cumming	MD FRCP FRCS (E)	
Jane Buchan	37 Arthur Street	shop assistant ?	Thomas Cullen	confectioner & newsagent	
<b>Christopher Cairns</b>	3 Rutland Square			no occupation	
Mrs Cairns	ditto				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>William Calder</b>	Canal House, Port Hopetoun			superintendent Union Canal	
Kate Calder	ditto				daughter
Jane Callender	76 Strathearn Road		Misses Callender	no occupation	
<b>John Campbell</b>	106 Spottiswoode Street			agent Prudential Insurance	
Mrs Campbell	ditto				
Agnes Campbell	ditto				daughter
Mary Campbell	ditto				daughter
Mrs Cant	132 Rose Street				
<b>John Carse</b>	26a Barony Street			shoemaker	
Mrs Carse	ditto				
Nellie Chalmers	33 Queensferry Street				
Agnes Christie	12 William Street Lane				
Archibald Clark	17 Bellevue Road				
George Clark	5 Crichton Street				
Mrs Clark	ditto				
Louisa Clark	Craigroyston Granton				
Maggie Clark	160 Rose Street	servant	Mrs Young	dairy	
Mary Clark	73 Hanover Street	shop assistant ?	Richards & Co	vegetarian restaurant	
Christina Collier	6 Heriot Row	servant	The Hon Lord Kincairney		
Donald Cormack	140 Bruntsfield Place				
Mrs Cormack	ditto				
Jeanie Coull	8 Glenogle Terrace	servant	Misses Pearson		
Mrs Coutts	53 Viewforth		John Coutts	glass merchants & glaziers	Coutts & Co 12 & 14 Lochrin Place
Margaret Coutts	ditto				
Mina Cowie	8 William Street				
Mrs Cox	43 Montgomery Street		Frederick Cox	no occupation	
Cissy Cox	ditto				



Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Elizabeth Craig	14 Roseburn Place		John W Craig	no occupation	
<b>Robert Craig</b>	6 Spottiswoode Street			postmaster General Post Office	
Mrs Craig	ditto				
Janet Cranston	3 Rothesay Terrace	servant	Mrs Findlay	no occupation	
Robert Crichton	11 East Richmond Street				
Mrs Crichton	ditto				
Janet Cunningham	28 Coates Gardens	servant	Charles Stewart	Writer to the Signet	61 Frederick Street
John Cunningham	163 Dundee Street				
Isabella Currie	45 Eyre Place				
Jane Dacers	1 Forres Street	servant	Thomas Mackintosh	Writer to the Signet	
Helen Davidson	10 Glencairn Crescent	servant	Mrs James Stewart	no occupation	
Kate Dawson	Murrayfield House Murrayfield Avenue	servant	Miss Chalmers Hon. Constance E Shore	no occupation	
Mrs Dempster	71 Hanover Street		A Scott Ireland Solicitor to the Supreme Court & Notary Public	Fyffe, Ireland & Co SSC	
Mrs Dewar	21 Brougham Place				
Mary Donald	3 Saunders Street	seamstress ?	M Rodger	dress & mantle maker	
<b>John Edward Dovey</b>	7 Greenhill Terrace			chartered accountant	50 Queen Street
Mrs Dovey	ditto				
Eleanor Dovey	ditto				daughter
Maggie Dow	14 George Square				
Annie Duff	34 India Street	servant	George G Wood	Writer to the Signet	
Elizabeth Duffus	22 Gardners' Crescent				
Alexander Dunbar	133 Easter Road		Robert Dunbar	no occupation	
Elizabeth Duncan	6 Great Stuart Street	servant	Miss C Dunlop	no occupation	
Grace A Duncan	25 Warrender Park Terrace				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Mary Dundas	8 Charlotte Square	servant	Thomas Ronaldson	MB FRCP(E) JP	
Elizabeth Dunnett	9 Wardlaw Place				
Maud Dunnett	1 Orwell Terrace				
<b>John Dunsmore</b>	62 Spottiswoode Street			no occupation	
Mrs Dunsmore	ditto				
Marion Dunsmore	ditto				daughter
Adam Dunsmore	ditto				son
Mrs Dykes	Victor Park Dairy Corstorphine				
Maggie Dykes	ditto				
Minnie Edmiston	5 Oxford Terrace	servant	Mrs Houston Stewart Wallace	no occupation	
Mrs Edwards	3 Heriothill Terrace				
Mary Edwards	ditto				
Alexander Edwards	ditto				
Elsie Ettles	15 Chalmers Crescent	servant	Rev J N Ogilvie	minister New Greyfriars Parish Church	
Jessie Ettles	17 Howard Place	servant	Mrs Ogilvy	no occupation	
Robert Ewart	27a Bellevue Crescent				
Mrs Ewart	ditto				
<b>Andrew Ewing</b>	3 Kew Terrace			produce merchant	
Mrs Ewing	ditto				
Agnes Fairley	169 Pleasance				
<b>John C Farmer</b>	13 Cambridge Gardens			no occupation	
Mrs Farmer	ditto				
Donald Farmer	ditto				son
Elizabeth Fenwick	18 Fettes Row				
James Finlay	1 Lutton Place				
Mrs Finlay	ditto				
Agnes Fletcher	36 Inverleith Gardens	servant	David Stiven	engineer	

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Mrs Foggo</b>	68 Montpelier Park			no occupation	
Annie Forbes	11 Moray Place	servant	George M Low	manager & actuary	Scottish Equitable Life Assurance Society 28 St Andrew Square
Dolina Forbes	6 Upper Dean Terrace	servant	John Gillespie	no occupation	
Ellen Forbes	24 St Bernard's Crescent	servant	Misses Walker Arnott	no occupation	
Joan Forbes	ditto	servant			
John Forbes	147 St Leonard's Street				
Mrs Forbes	ditto				
Maggie Forbes	16 Albany Street	servant	Mrs Robert Cameron	no occupation	
Maggie Forbes	7 Gillsland Road	servant	George Lorimer	Writer to the Signet	22 Rutland Square
William S Ford	11 Dumbiedykes Road		William Ross Taylor	postmaster GPO	
Mrs Ford	ditto				
Mrs Isabella Ford	13 Bank Street				
John Forsyth	25 Haddington Place		Leo Blennenhasser	compositor	
Mary Ann Forsyth	33 Great King Street	servant	William Purves	Writer to the Signet	W & F Haldane
Helen Forsyth	ditto	servant			
Jane Foster	1 Coltbridge Terrace	servant	Miss M Elliott Lockhart	no occupation	
<b>James Gairn</b>	2 Meadow Place			no occupation	
George R Garratt	72 Madiera Street		Lewis Garratt	egg merchant	111 Constitution Street
John Gerrard	13 King's Stables Road				
John Gerrard jr.	ditto				son
Kate Gibb	4 Clark Road	servant	Lewis G Sandeman	wine merchant	
Jeanie Gibson	8 White Park				
Jessie Gibson	103 Easter Road				
Isabella Glasgow	187 Dalry Road				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Maggie Goldsworth</b>	2 Avondale Place		Misses M and H Goldsworth	no occupation	
<b>George Gordon</b>	2 Montpelier			draper	30 Lochrin Buildings
Mrs Gordon	ditto				
Robert Grandison	2 Avondale Place		<b>Misses Goldsworth</b>		
Maggie Grant	34 India Street	servant	George J Wood	Writer to the Signet	14 Young Street
Daniel Gray	30 Thorntree Street				
Sarah Greenfield	169 Pleasance				
Christina Griffiths	82 St Leonard's Street				
Mrs Gumley	52 Ashley Terrace				
Mrs Guthrie	11 Heriothill Terrace				
<b>Thomas Hadden</b>	40 Henderson Row			art metal worker & smith	East Silvermills Lane
Mrs Hadden	ditto				
Mrs Hall	15 Rutland Street				
Mary Hamilton	19 Royal Terrace				
John Harcus	1 Victor Park Corstorphine				
Elizabeth Harper	32 India Street	servant	J Graham Stewart KC	advocate	
John Hart	1 Rosebank Cottages		Richard Hart	coal merchant	
Isabella Hay	7 India Street	servant	Charles E Mitchell	M Mitchell & Co purveyors of wedding cakes, dinners, marriage dejeuners and ball suppers	2 Gloucester Place
<b>Elizabeth Henderson</b>	Rockville Murrayfield			vegetarian restaurant	73 Hanover Street
Margaret Henderson	2 Glen Street				
Ruth Henderson	59 Comiston Road		Thomas Henderson	P & R Gray general dyers and French cleaners	Scottish Central Dye Works 19 Jane Street & 274 Leith Walk
Mrs Herbert	31 Grindlay Street		M Herbert	coal merchant	

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
William Hewlitt	12 Roseneath Terrace				
Mrs Hewlitt	ditto				
George Hislop	9 Comely Bank Avenue				
Mrs Hislop	ditto				
Elizabeth Hislop	ditto				daughter
Mary Hogg	13 Caledonian Crescent				
Isabella Hood	22 Panmure Place				
Robert Hope	151 Slateford Road				
Jane Hope	ditto				
Eliza Hoseason	40 Melville Street	servant	Miss Davidson	no occupation	
Mrs Howie	163 Morrison Street				
Catherine Hunter	3 Caledonian Road				
<b>Jasper Hunter</b>	10 Gayfield Square			janitor	London Street Public School
Mrs Hunter	ditto				
Mrs Irvine	50 Queen Street				
John Irvine	43 Warrender Park Terrace				
Clara Jaap	YWCA 118 George Street				
Archibald Jack	29 Bellevue Road	shop assistant ?	<b>George Archibald</b>	newsagent & stationer	
Thomas Jameson	34 Roseburn Street		yes	no occupation	
Mrs Jameson	ditto				
Maggie Jardine	34 Mayfield Crescent				
Minnie Jevons	59 Corporation Buildings McLeod Street				
Ida Johansen	11 Rutland Street	servant	Harvey Littlejohn	professor of forensic medicine, University of Edinburgh	
Alexander Johnston	30 Fowler Terrace				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
James Johnston	22 Comely Bank Place		Miss M R Johnston	costumier	
Janet Johnston	ditto				
James Johnston	14 Dalkeith Road				
Mrs Johnston	ditto				
Jessie Kay	60 Palmerston Place	servant	William Garson	Writer to the Signet	5 Albyn Place
Jane Kelly	8 Ramsay Garden	servant	Charles William Thomson	no occupation	
Archibald Kemp	52 Grove Street				
<b>Rev Joseph Kemp</b>	46 Leamington Terrace			pastor	Charlotte Chapel
Mrs Kemp	ditto				
Annie Kennedy	13 Learmonth Place		Mrs Kennedy	no occupation	
Jane Kinghorn	27 Comely Bank Street		Mrs Kinghorn	no occupation	
Elizabeth Kinniburgh	8 Parkside Street				
Georgina Kirk	44 Grange Road	servant	Peter Green	brewer	
Annie Kirkwood	80 Montgomery Street		R Kirkwood	no occupation	
Gerald Kirkby	35 Lorne Street				
Mabel Kirkby	87 Gilmour Place	servant	Mrs William Ferguson	no occupation	
Sydney Kirkby	3 Pilrig Cottages				
Isabella Laing	7 Randolph Cliff				
Maggie Laing	14 George Square	servant			Church of Scotland residence for students of divinity and probationers
Robina Laing	27 Comely Bank	servant	Mrs Andrew McKean	no occupation	
Colin Latta	8 Dalrymple Place				
Mrs Latta	ditto				
Anna Beatrice Lawrie	10 Newton Street				
Johanna Lawrie	9 Eglinton Crescent	servant	George M Paul	chartered surveyor	16 St Andrew Square

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Mrs Legge</b>	56 India Street			relief stamper and black borderer	32 Elder Street
Martha Legge	ditto				daughter
Minnie Legge	ditto				daughter
<b>William Lemon</b>	9a Salisbury Road			no occupation	
Mrs Lemon	ditto				
William Linklater	43 Warrender Park Terrace				
Mrs Linklater	ditto				
John R Lockie	25 Tarvit Street				
John K Lucas	6 Heriot Mount				
Lucy Mackay	14 Churchill				
Mary Mackay	12 Beechwood Terrace				
William Mackay	12 India Place		Hugh Brebner	no occupation	
Joan Mackie	Craigroyston Granton				
<b>Frank M Main</b>	7 Comely Bank Terrace			outfitters, tailors, ladies' and gents' hatters, hosiers and glovers	Aitken & Main 26 Queensferry Street
Mrs Main	ditto				
<b>Mrs Main</b>	118 High Street (Dickson's Close)			no occupation	
Mary Mair	50 Manor Place	servant	James Dalmahoy	Writer to the Signet	Cowan & Dalmahoy 31 Charlotte Square
Mrs Maislein	16 Panmure Place	servant	William Paterson	no occupation	
Mary Martin	16 Grove Street	servant	Mrs Logan	no occupation	
William Martin	Salisbury Green Dalkeith Road		W F L Nelson Miss Alice Nelson	Nelson's publishers	
Barbara Mathieson	19 Learmonth Place		Mrs Mathieson	no occupation	
Jessie May	17 Howard Place	servant	Mrs Ogilvie	no occupation	
Mrs McArthur	23 Temple Park Crescent		W McArthur	no occupation	
Kate McArthur	ditto				daughter

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Bessie McArthur	42 Lauder Road	servant	Rev Fred Georgeson		church not listed so possibly retired
Charles McArthur	161 Rose Street				
Maggie McArthur	ditto				
Duncan McArthur	25 Comely Bank Road		Mrs Wedell	no occupation	
Frank McBride	13 Richmond Terrace				
Mrs McBride	ditto				
<b>Donald Alexander McCallum</b>	20 Haddington Place			no occupation	brother
<b>Martha McCallum</b>	ditto			no occupation	sister
Janet McCallum	4 Magdala Place				
Edith McCoustra	83 Dalry Road		A McCoustra	no occupation	
Harriet McDonald	74 Morningside Place	servant	Mrs Berrie	no occupation	
Isabella McDonald	29 Bellevue Place	shop assistant ?	Matthew Percy Galloway	ironmonger	
John McDonald	2 Leslie Place		Mrs Ann Byres	no occupation	
William McDonald	10 Forbes Road				
Mrs McDonald	ditto				
Robert McDonald	ditto				
Catherine McDougal	8 Ramsay Garden	servant	Charles Thomson	no occupation	
Grace McDougal	3 Rothesay Terrace	servant	Mrs Findlay	no occupation	
<b>William McDougall</b>	29 Cambridge Avenue			printer	2 Assembly Street
Mrs McDougall	ditto				
Elizabeth McDowall	5 Abbotsford Crescent	servant	J Gardner Hill	publisher, bookseller, stationer and printer	37 George Street
Mrs McFarlane	21 Rutland Street				
Annie McFarlane	ditto				
Elizabeth McFarlane	13 Gayfield Square				



Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Robert McFarlane	3 Comely Bank Avenue				
Alexander McIntosh	22 St Stephen's Place		Maxwell Crawford	waiter	
Alexander McIntosh	30 Bothwell Street Easter Road				
Andrew McIntosh	12 Cheyne Street				
Mrs McIntosh	ditto				
Margaret McIntosh	ditto				
Anna McIntosh	20 Charlotte Square	servant	Sir John Batty Tuke	MD FRCP (E)	
David McIntyre	103 Easter Road				
Mrs McIntyre	ditto				
Jane McIntyre	ditto				
Jessie McIntyre	12 Regent Terrace	servant	Misses Anderson	no occupation	
Mrs McKenzie	104 Rose Street				
Barbara McKenzie	Ardmore Kinnaird Road				
Williamina McKenzie	1 Marchmont Road	servant	Miss Margaret McGachie	no occupation	
Mrs McLachlan	148 Rose Street				
Maggie McLachlan	21 Upper Grove Place				
<b>Hugh McLaren</b>	4 Upper Gilmore Terrace			no occupation	
Mrs McLaren	ditto				
Annie McLaren	ditto				daughter
Catherine McLean	Duart Lodge 73 Colinton Road		T L McLean	no occupation	
Donald McLean	178 Leith Walk		David S Lockie	mercantile clerk	
Jessie McLean	18 Abercorn Road	servant	James Ross	no occupation	
Elizabeth McRiner	29 Bruntsfield Place	servant	David Kay	no occupation	
Isabella McRobbie	3 Glencairn Crescent	servant	J R M Wedderburn	Writer to the Signet	Carmet, Wedderburn and Watson
Maggie McRobbie	6 Grosvenor Crescent	servant	John P Wright	Writer to the Signet	McAndrew, Wright and Murray 9 Albyn Place

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>Mrs Agnes McSwain</b>	8 Heriot Place			no occupation	
May McSwain	ditto				daughter
Marion McSwain	ditto				daughter
Adam Mennie	92 Montgomery Street				
Thomas Middlemass	33 Bangor Road				
James Millar	19 Brougham Place				
Maggie Millar	138 Brunsfield Place	servant	Mrs Cuthbert	no occupation	
George Miller	15 Beaverhall Terrace				
Mrs Miller	ditto				
Mary Miller	2 Ashley Terrace		Mrs Katherine McK Miller	no occupation	
Frances Mills	11 Ramsay Garden	servant	Clara Capper	no occupation	
William Milne	17 Dean Park Mews				
Mrs Milne	ditto				
Elizabeth Mitchell	9 Charlotte Square	servant	George H B Hill	no occupation	
<b>Alexander Mitchelson</b>	31 Glendevon Place			manager	Williams Typewriter Co. 19 Shandwick Place
Mrs Mitchelson	ditto				
Jane Moffat	50 Melville Street	servant	G F Barbour Simpson	MB FRCP (E) FRCS (E)	
Maggie Moodie	49 Stirling Road	servant	R Mundell	no occupation	
Mary Moodie	66 Northumberland Street	servant	Mrs Wallace	no occupation	
Mina Morris	32 Saxe-Coburg Place	servant	Rev D C Macnicol	minister	Stockbridge United Free Church
Beatrice Morrison	46 Leamington Terrace	servant	<b>Joseph Kemp</b>	pastor	Charlotte Chapel
Charles Motte	73 Brunswick Street		Thomas Motte	bootmaker	29 Great Junction Street & 15 Balfour Street Leith
Maggie Muir	13 Richmond Terrace				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Jane Murray	59 Comiston Road	servant	George Turnbull	commercial traveller	
Lena Murray	3 Atholl Crescent				Edinburgh School of Domestic Science Ltd 3&4 Atholl Crescent
Robert Murray	6 West Preston Street				
Alexander Murrison	6 King's Road				
<b>David Ness</b>	George Heriot Lodge Lauriston Place			gatekeeper	
Mary Nicoll	9 Inverleith Place	servant	Robert K Anderson	agriculturalist	Royal Botanic Garden
Nellie O'Brien	493 Lawnmarket				
Christina Paris	18 Ainslie Place	servant	A S Cumming	MD FRCP (E)	
William Patton	12 Dean Park Street				
Mrs Patton	ditto				
Annie Peebles	5 Lauder Road	servant	Mrs Robertson	no occupation	
Mary Pendreigh	40 Henderson Row	servant	Thomas Hadden	art metal worker and smith	East Silvermills Lane
Rachael Philp	20 Eyre Crescent		Miss Philp	no occupation	
Mrs Porter	14 Bright Terrace				
Thomas Porter	4 New Broughton				
Maggie Prentice	5 Afton Terrace	servant	W Scott Eliot	no occupation	
Maggie Pye	46 Cluny Gardens	servant	Joseph Smith	no occupation	
George Rae	43a East Claremont Street				
Mrs Rae	ditto				
Henrietta Rae	179 Gilmore Place				
Agnes Reid	103 Dumbiedykes Road				
Catherine Reid	15 Great Stuart Street	servant	Rt Hon Lord Moncrieff of Tullibole	no occupation	

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>James Rennie</b>	2 Lochrin Place			no occupation	
Mrs Rennie	ditto				
Douglas Renton	30 Queen Street				
Agnes Riddell	Parkhead South Inverleith Avenue				
Janet Robertson	5 Wemyss Place	servant	John Ferguson	no occupation	
Mrs Robertson	148 Rose Street				
<b>Robert Robertson</b>	97 Spottiswoode Street			no occupation	
Mrs Robertson	ditto				
Christina Robertson	ditto				daughter
William Robertson	4 St Leonard's Street				
Mrs Robertson	ditto				
David Rodger	1 Livingstone Place				
David Ronald	1 Viewforth				
Mrs Ronald	ditto				
Annie Ross	3 Rutland Square				
David Ross	9 Newport Street				
Dolina Ross	39 Melville Street		Watson	Nicol's Apartments	39 & 41 Melville Street
Elizabeth Ross	70 Great King Street				
Helen Ross	9 Morningside Place	servant	John Y Myrtle	wine merchant	26 Elbe Street
J B Ross	19 Collins Place				
Mrs Ross	ditto				
James C Ross	18 Abercorn Road				
Mrs Ross	ditto				
Mary Ross	8 Rothesay Place	servant	Brigade Surgeon-Lieutenant Colonel James Arnot	MD	late Imperial Medical Service
Mary Ross	34 India Street	servant	George Wood	Writer to the Signet	14 Young Street

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Mrs Ross	1 Hill Street				
Margaret Ross	ditto				
Evelyn Ross	ditto				
George Rothery	46 Sloan Street				
Mrs Roy	3 Caledonian Road				
William Rugg	18 Semple Street				
Mrs Rugg	ditto				
<b>Mrs Rutherford</b>	13 Glengyle Terrace			no occupation	
<b>Isabella Saunderson</b>	5 Shandon Crescent			no occupation	
Mary Saunderson	ditto				
Mrs Scott	6 Bryson Road		James Scott	cabinetmaker	
Annie Scott	ditto				daughter
Robina Scott	ditto				daughter
Catherine Scott	ditto				daughter
James Scott	7 Murieston Crescent				
Mrs Scott	ditto				
Mrs Scott	19 Alva Place				
Adam Scott	ditto				
Isabella Scott	ditto				
James Johnston Scott	20 Roseneath Terrace				
Margaret Scott	7 Ethel Terrace				
May Scougal	15 Brougham Street	servant	Mrs Little	no occupation	
Jean Shaw	Craigmount 52 Dick Place		Misses Gossip	private boarding and day school for young ladies	members of Free St George's
John Shaw	3 Caledonian Road				
Mrs Shaw	ditto				
Kate Shearer	4 Angle Park Terrace				
Mrs Shiels	16 Breadalbane Terrace				
Mary Shiels	ditto				
Percy Sidwell	6 Spottiswoode Street				
Mrs Sidwell	ditto				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Elizabeth Sinclair	106 Bruntsfield Place		John Sinclair	British Linen Company Bank	
Elizabeth Sinclair	31 Manor Place	servant	Mrs Henry Kermack	no occupation	
Isabella Sinclair	29 Charlotte Square				
<b>William Sinclair</b>	5 Grove Street			no occupation	
Mrs Sinclair	ditto				
Jeanie Sinclair	ditto				daughter
Alice Smith	8 Belgrave Place	servant	Charles A Dalziel	chartered accountant	46 Castle Street
Elizabeth Smith	6 Ardmillan Terrace		George Smith	tailor & clothier	
Elsie Smith	47 Inverleith Row	servant	Rev Charles Hope Anderson		church not stated so possibly retired
Isabella Smith	10 Caledonian Road				
<b>John Smith</b>	7 Abercorn Terrace Portobello			builder	
Mrs Smith	ditto				
Mary Smith	Salisbury Green Dalkeith Road		W F I Nelson Miss Alice Nelson	Nelson's publishers	
Kate Smithers	9 Coates Crescent		Miss Pirie	apartments	
Agnes Spalding	37 Palmerston Place	servant	Mrs Pringle sr. of Torwoodlee	no occupation	
Helen Spalding	13 Royal Circus	servant	The Hon Lord Guthrie (Charles John)	judge	
Mrs Steele	15 Learmonth Place		John Steele	no occupation	
Martha Steele	ditto				daughter
Benjamin Steele	ditto				son
Marjory Steven	22 Coates Gardens	servant	Mrs Marion Wright	no occupation	
Mrs Stevenson	30 Queen Street				
Fred Stevenson	ditto				
Elizabeth Stevenson	5 Middle Arthur Place				
Jeanie Stevenson	ditto				

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>James Stevenson</b>	7 Viewforth Gardens			boot & shoe maker	59 Home Street
Mrs Stevenson	ditto				
Jeanie Stewart	18 Clarendon Crescent		Mrs Stewart	no occupation	
Jessie Stewart	27 Drumsheugh Gardens	servant	John R Findlay	newspaper proprietor	<i>The Scotsman</i>
Robert Storie	6 Bryson Road		James Scott	cabinetmaker	Mrs Scott and their daughters were members
Bessie Strachan	161 Rose Street		Miss C Manderson	china merchant	
Isabella Strachan	ditto				
Ruby Streets	30 Queen Street				
Jacobina Swanson	46 Palmerston Place	servant	William B Wilson	Writer to the Signet	Cadell, Wilson and Morton
<b>William Bruce Sutherland</b>	19 Shandwick Place			teacher	Edinburgh School of Physical Culture <sup>58</sup>
John Tait	18 Rosebank Cottages				
Mrs Tait	ditto				
Jane Thomson	7 Montagu Terrace		Misses Thomson	no occupation	
Fanny Thomson	ditto			no occupation	
Minnie Thomson	25 Palmerston Place	servant	William McEwan	no occupation	
Robert Thomson	7 Roseburn Place		William Mackay	no occupation	
<b>William M Thomson</b>	18 Montpelier Terrace			no occupation	
Mrs Thomson	ditto				
William Thomson jr.	ditto				son
<b>Mrs Thorburn</b>	5 Great Stuart Street			no occupation	
Annie Tindale	9 Belgrave Place	servant	John Ross Cundell	agent British Linen Bank	46 Bernard Street Leith
Jeanie Tindale	14 Manor Place	servant	C Mowbray Pearson	MB FRCP (E)	

<sup>58</sup> His business advertisement reads "Sandow medallist, holder of the world's endurance records, teacher of physical culture and wrestling and weightlifting; schools, colleges etc. attended. Patronised and attended by all classes. Recommended by the principal Edinburgh doctors." (p.383 of the 1908 PO Directory)

Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
Robert Tinnock	15 Calton Hill				
John Tod	4 Ardmillan Terrace		Charles W Smith	no occupation	
Thomas Todd	30 Duff Street				
Mrs Todd	ditto				
Isabella Todd	ditto				
Edmund Trickett	6 Spottiswoode Street		<b>Robert Craig</b>	General Post Office	
James Tullis	31 Bread Street				
Mrs Tullis	ditto				
William Turner	362 Morningside Road				
<b>Andrew Urquhart</b>	9 Inverleith Terrace			Solicitor to the Supreme Court	7 Dundas Street
Mrs Urquhart	ditto				
Annie Urquhart	ditto				daughter
Christian Urquhart	ditto				daughter
William Urquhart	ditto				son
Helen Urquhart	ditto				daughter
<b>Horace Vallance</b>	1 Abercorn Road			no occupation	
John Walcot	Hydropathic Craiglockhart				
<b>George Walcot</b>	7 Leamington Terrace			no occupation	
Mrs Walcot	ditto				
John Walcot jr	ditto				
Nessie Walcot	ditto				
Maggie Wardrop	153 Dalkeith Road	servant	Miss Shand	no occupation	
<b>William Watt</b>	74 Haymarket Terrace			joiner & cabinetmaker	93 Haymarket Terrace
Mrs Watt	ditto				
Mary Watt	ditto				daughter
James S T Waugh	37 Lauriston Gardens				
Mrs Waugh	ditto				
Susan Waugh	163 Morrison Street				
Donald Weir	24 Salisbury Street		William Murray	no occupation	



Name	Address	Occupation	Head of Household	Occupation	Notes
<b>James Welsh</b>	36 Roseburn Terrace			civil servant	Register House
Mrs Welsh	ditto				
Agnes Welsh	ditto				daughter
Maggie Welsh	ditto				daughter
Mina Welsh	11 Temple Park Crescent		George Welsh	no occupation	
Carrie White	25 Hugh Miller Place		William White	no occupation	
Helen White	4 Drummond Place	servant	John Henry Lorimer	artist	Royal Scottish Academy
Marion Whyte	45 George Square				
Mrs Margaret Widdowson	132 Rose Street				
Maggie Widdowson	Norwood Canaan Lane				
Nellie Williamson	30 Grosvenor Street	servant	Mrs Simson	no occupation	
Agnes Wilson	12 Hart Street				
Mrs Wilson	23 Livingstone Place		Charles Main	bootmaker	18 Buccleuch Street
Maggie Wilson	ditto				
William Wilson	13 Jeffrey Street		Alexander Wilson	butcher	37 Fox Street
Annie Winnie	32 India Street	servant	J Graham Stewart KC	advocate	
John B Wintour	39 Viewforth				
Mrs Wintour	ditto				
Isabella Wood	49 Great King Street	servant	Mrs Robert Russell	no occupation	
Mary Wood	74 Haymarket Terrace	servant	<b>William Watt</b>	joiner & cabinetmaker	
Mary Wood	39 Thirlestane Road				
Ruby Young	21 Tarvit Street				